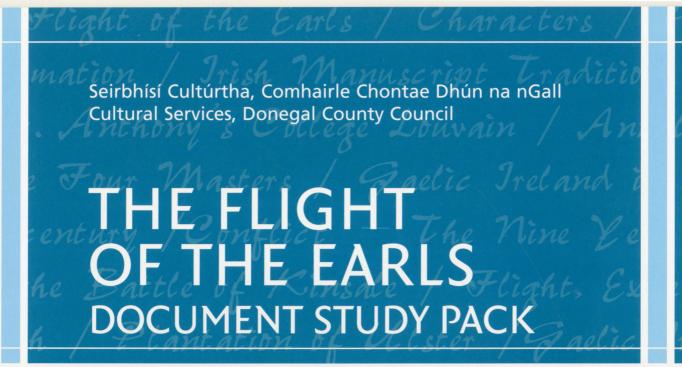
Seirbhísí Cultúrtha, Comhairle Chontae Dhún na nGall Cultural Services, Donegal County Council

THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS DOCUMENT STUDY PACK



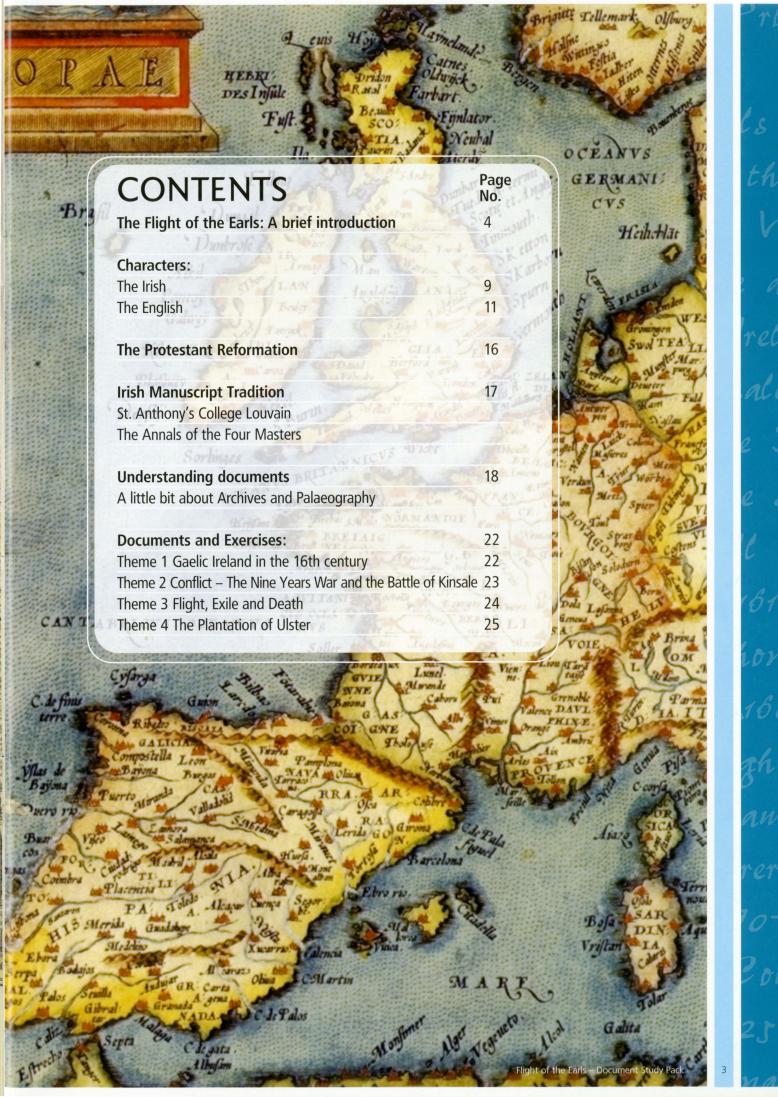
STAIDÉAR BUNFHOINSÍ IMEACHT NA nIARLAÍ 1607-2007











THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS Hers A brief introduction



The events surrounding the Flight of the Earls were central in shaping modern Ireland. Over a period of fifteen years Ulster changed beyond recognition from what was the last remaining stronghold of Gaelic society to a province that saw the first successful plantation in Ireland.

The Nine Years War left Ulster impoverished and divided, and robbed the region of its young noblemen such as the O'Donnell brothers, O'Neill, Maguire and their extended families. With the land now leaderless the way was clear for the new settlers and the dividing up of the seized territories.

Gaelic Ireland

Gaelic Ireland in the mid-sixteenth century was made up of old Gaelic and Norman families, who ruled their territories much as they had for four hundred years. English authority outside the Pale existed in small pockets mainly in the larger towns and cities, but for the most part Ulster remained in the control of the Irish Lords. Brehon Law, based on ancient Gaelic tradition, was the law of the land. The Laws covered ownership of property, inheritance and contract as well as social status and the responsibilities of individuals. They were however in complete contrast to the English system of administration.

The O'Donnell family rose to power as lords of Tír Chonaill (County Donegal) in the 13th century. They owned vast territories in the southwest of the county and lands in the Finn Valley region and around Lifford. As Lords of Donegal, sub-chieftains such as the O'Dohertys, the McSweeneys and the O'Boyles supported them.

The ancient kingdom of Tír Eóghan dates from the 5th century. It comprises much of what is now County Tyrone, as well as parts of counties Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh, Monaghan and Armagh. The O'Neills owned large parts of this territory and were granted the title of Earls of Tyrone by Henry VIII in 1541, under his scheme of surrender and re-grant, making chieftain, Conn O'Neill, the first Earl of Tyrone.

The Nine Years War (1594-1603)

The Nine Years War was a long drawn out war of attrition, in which the Irish fought in order to maintain their authority and way of life.

In the beginning Gaelic families tolerated English garrisons and sheriffs in their territories. But when the English began to increase their officials in the province and to threaten the authority of the

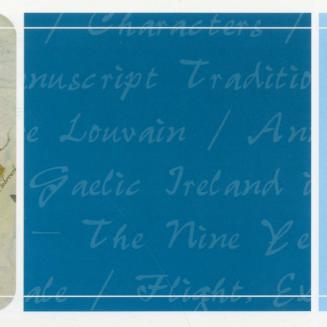


Gaelic Lords, this was not to be endured. The kidnap and incarceration of Red Hugh O'Donnell helped to sour the relationship between the English and the O'Donnells. On Red Hugh's return one of his first acts was to expel the English sheriff from Tír Chonaill.

The Nine Years War began with Hugh Maguire's revolt in Fermanagh, caused by the introduction of an English sheriff into his territory in 1593. Maguire soon found support from his neighbours in Donegal.

The English had already successfully crushed the lordships of The McMahon in Monaghan and The O'Rourke in Leitrim, so understandably the remaining Ulster lords could have suspected that they were next on the list.





O'Neill secretly supported the rebels with arms and aid but was unwilling to openly declare his intentions. He kept up the appearance of loyalty until 1595. O'Neill, of the three chieftains, had the most to lose. Elizabeth I, with whom he had a good relationship, supported his position. He however was a shrewd man, secretly arming his army for the day when the Queen might impose one too many officials on him or impinge further on his authority in Tyrone.

The Irish had numerous successes in battle in the early years of the Nine Years War. Maguire defeated the English at the Ford of the Biscuits in Fermanagh and O'Donnell led successful raids into Sligo, Mayo and north Galway. O'Neill proved himself to be an exceptional leader, defeating the English at Clontibret in Monaghan, Yellow Ford in Armagh and the Moyry Pass on the Armagh/Louth border. The early battles of the war were successful for a number of reasons. O'Neill was well trained and familiar with English battle strategy; most of the battles were fought on his terms on territory unfamiliar to the invading forces, by a wellsupplied Irish army and the Irish fought for their own survival and for their way of life.

Sustaining their successes and taking the entire country however was going to be extremely difficult. Many of the old Anglo-Norman families in Ireland remained loyal to the Crown and were unwilling to join O'Neill and O'Donnell. Foreign aid was therefore essential.

This aid came in the form of funds and arms from Spain. Spain was a Catholic country with an interest in assisting the enemies of its adversary, England. Several meetings took place between the Spanish and the Ulster Lords during the course of the Nine Years War, in Killybegs and Lifford, County Donegal, but it was not until 1601 that assistance finally arrived.

The reasons for the Gaelic allies' eventual defeat was their over dependence on the Spanish King and the failure of support to arrive on time. Also, the bitter conflicts that raged over succession within each lordship weakened their ability to fight the invading force.

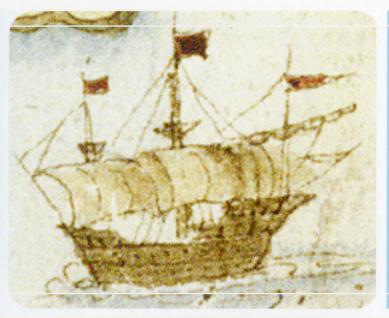
By the time Red Hugh left for Kinsale much of his territory had already been lost to his cousin Niall Garbh who had the support of the English captain Henry Docwra.

Kinsale 1601

The Spanish arrived in Kinsale, County Cork in September 1601 but in much smaller numbers than anticipated. Despite the difficulties presented to them, the Irish were in a good position at the onset of the battle. In an effort to gain the advantage O'Donnell persuaded a more cautious and reluctant O'Neill to attack the assembled English force, led by Lord Mountjoy and Lord Carew. The battle was a disaster from the beginning. O'Neill's forces failed to surprise the English and did not attack them upon being sighted, but waited, thereby losing the advantage. They were forced to give up ground and were mowed down by the advancing cavalry. The sight of this caused O'Donnell's force in the rear guard to flee, after only engaging in battle in a minor way. Everything happened so quickly that the battle was over before the Spanish even rode out onto the battlefield. The Spanish Captain, Don Juan del Águila, quickly gave up hope and nine days later surrendered to Mountjoy.

His armies depleted and with much of the O'Donnell lordship lost to his cousin Niall Garbh and Docwra, Red Hugh fled to Spain. He made efforts to secure additional aid from King Philip III, but died before any force could be assembled. In his will, taken just before his death in Simancas, O'Donnell named his younger brother Ruairí as his successor.

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The Flight of the Earls

O'Neill returned to Tyrone a defeated man. He survived as a fugitive from the Crown for a further two years before seeking terms for peace. Ruairí O'Donnell had already surrendered. The Treaty of Mellifont was signed on the 30th of March 1603 between O'Neill and Lord Mountiov. The Irish received very good terms, most likely because of the growing cost of the war, as well as Elizabeth's failing health. Under the terms of the treaty O'Neill and O'Donnell were granted a full pardon and Ruairí O'Donnell was created the first Earl of Tír Chonaill. Elizabeth I died shortly before the treaty was signed and was succeeded by her cousin James I (James VI of Scotland).

Life for the Earls however did not revert to their old existence. Ruairí's lordship was greatly diminished and he was not granted the estates traditionally owned by the lord of Tír Chonaill (Sir Cahir O'Doherty was granted the whole of Inishowen). O'Neill had to endure new arrivals into his territories. Church and State made claims to lands which were part of his ancestral domain. English captains, Henry Docwra and Arthur Chichester, led a hate campaign against him.

Plots and conspiracies surrounded them. O'Neill was summoned to London to defend his estates against a claim made by the O'Cahan Chieftain, who wanted to have his lands separated from the O'Neill lordship. He was reluctant to go, fearing that he would not return.

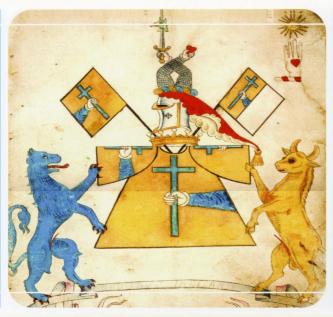
All these elements contributed to the Earls' decision to leave the country. Cú Chonnacht Maguire arrived with a French ship at Rathmullan, County Donegal in September 1607. The extended O'Neill and O'Donnell families, 99 people in total boarded the ship and departed for the continent. O'Donnell

brought with him his infant son Hugh but left behind his pregnant wife, Bridget O'Donnell, most likely expecting that she would join him later. His sister Nuala and brother Cathbharr also travelled with him. O'Neill travelled with his wife and two of his sons. He could not find his youngest son in time for the departing ship and was forced to leave him behind.

The journey was an extremely difficult one. Heavy storms forced the ship away from its intended port of Corunna in northern Spain and they were obliged to land in Quilleboeuf. in France on the 4th of October. The French, who were fearful of English reprisal, did not welcome their arrival. The Earls travelled over land to Louvain in Belgium, where they were made welcome at the Franciscan Irish College. They rested in Louvain over the Christmas of 1607 before setting out for Rome. The party intended to travel to Italy, where they hoped a ship would bring them across the Mediterranean to Spain. They made a difficult crossing over the Alps during the winter of 1608, arriving in Rome, where they were granted an audience with the Pope on the 4th of May.

But an invitation to Spain for the Lords was not forthcoming. At this stage Philip III of Spain had signed a peace treaty with the English and was unwilling to be seen helping his former Irish allies.

While awaiting a reply from Philip, tragedy struck the exiles. Ruairí O'Donnell, affected by the stifling heat, was struck down by a fever. His brother Cathbharr, also became ill followed by O'Neill's son Hugh, the Baron of Dungannon. The three died and were buried in Rome. O'Neill was forced to remain on without his young companions. Despite continuous efforts to return home, he never left Italy.



Ulster / Gaelic 594-1603) / Ki / The fate of of Ulster / T Earl of Tir Chon

The fate of the Irish Exiles

Hugh Albert O'Donnell (son of Ruairí) became an army officer in the Austrian service, studied at Louvain University and became a Knight of Alcántara in 1625. He died in battle in 1642 leaving no children. His sister Mary, who was raised in the English court, fled an unsuitable marriage to a Protestant landowner and met with her brother for the first time in Brussels in c. 1626. She again fled, this time from the exiled Irish community. Unwilling to commit to another arranged marriage she eloped with an Irish Captain and died in obscurity, most likely in Rome. O'Donnell's descendants are to be found to this day in parts of Austria and Spain, descended from the Niall Garbh O'Donnell line.

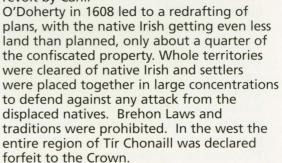
John O'Neill (second son of Hugh O'Neill) spent his life in service in the Spanish army, leading the Irish Regiment, and died in 1641 in battle at Catalonia. Many of the Irish exiles made careers for themselves in the Spanish Army in Flanders, including Art Óg O'Neill (Hugh's nephew) and his son Hugh Dubh. Irish officers and captains were generous supporters of the Irish college in Louvain and many of the Irish exiles are buried there, including Red Hugh's sister Nuala O'Donnell.

The Plantation of Ulster

Plantations in Ireland in the 16th century had been largely unsuccessful until the Ulster Plantation. The six counties in which land was seized for plantation included Donegal, Coleraine (which became County Derry), Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh and Cavan. Portions of land were given to 'servitors' (army commanders and the King's servants), 'undertakers' (men of property who undertook to bring over Protestant British families) and 'deserving Irish' (those who had changed sides during the Nine Years War). Undertakers were allocated between 2000, 1500 or 1000 acres. They each had to bring into the country 24 able-bodied men,

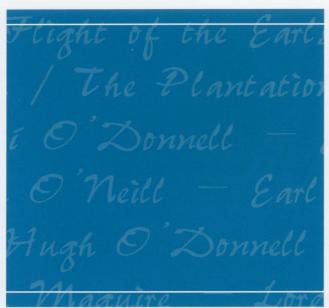
and those granted the largest land holdings had to build a stone castle. It was agreed that at least half the settlers would be Scots, as James I was now King of England and Scotland.

An unsuccessful revolt by Cahir



Sir John Davies, as Attorney General, laid a lot of the legal groundwork for the Plantation and was himself granted portions of the planted lands. For his role in the Nine Years War, Sir Arthur Chichester was awarded most of Inishowen.

Initial plans for the Plantation were a little over ambitious. A survey by Sir George Carew in 1611 showed that although the Plantation was supposed to be completed in three years, very little progress had been made. Planters could not sell land to the Irish or rent out farms to them under the terms of the Plantation. Undertakers were supposed to bring over tenants from their own estates in Britain. However, not enough people arrived and the new landowners resorted to renting farms to the native Irish.





As they had invested heavily in the Plantation, The City of London Guilds were granted lands on the bank of the River Foyle on which to build a new city. The County of Londonderry (formally Coleraine) was created with the new city at its centre. The Protestant Church of Ireland was also granted all the church lands formally owned by the Catholic Church. The arrival of the new settlers caused huge discontent amongst the native Irish. Not only had they lost their farms, they also had to attend Protestant Church services. James I was a devoted Protestant, and the introduction of the new religion was central to his plans for the province.

Chichester also deported up to 6000 former kern (native Irish soldiers), who were roaming the countryside after the end of the war and the Flight of the Earls. The province remained unstable for most of the 17th century due to further rebellions and civil war in Britain. The wars of the 1640's eliminated the last major Catholic landowners in Ulster. Another wave of Scottish migration came to Ireland in the 1690's. They were Scottish Presbyterians and became known as the Ulster Scots. By the mid 18th century, new settlers or their descendants formed the majority of the population in Ulster.

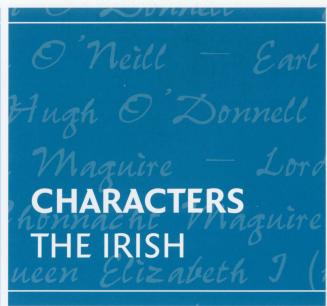
Although the new settlers were mostly farmers the Plantation brought with it a growth of towns and the urban network. The newcomers brought with them their own traditions, culture and religion and formed their own community. The native lrish, although reduced in number, were not entirely removed or anglicised, creating a divide both religious and social between the two groups that has survived to the present day.

The Legacy

The Flight of the Earls and the subsequent Plantation of Ulster had a lasting effect on politics in Ulster. It led to the separation of the community along Protestant and Catholic divides. Discrimination against Roman Catholics caused huge resentment, which was only increased by the introduction of the Penal Laws (which discriminated against anyone who was not a member of the established Church of Ireland) in the 17th century.

The two communities were unable to integrate. Under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 six counties in Ulster spilt politically from the rest of the country.

As part of the Northern Ireland Peace Process, the Good Friday Agreement was signed on the 10th of April 1998. In the agreement, all parties in Britain, Ireland and Northern Ireland agreed that the future of Northern Ireland should be decided by 'exclusively peaceful and democratic means'. New legislation for the province is being introduced on policing, human rights and equality. Importantly, there is a new feeling of optimism that the violence of the past is over and we can explore and commemorate our shared history.





Ruairí O'Donnell – Earl of Tír Chonaill (1574/75-1608)

Ruairí O'Donnell, (Rory, Rury, Ruaidhrí) the first Earl of Tír Chonaill, born in 1574, was the second son of Sir Hugh O'Donnell and the younger brother of Red Hugh. Ruairí was Tánaiste during Red Hugh's lordship of Donegal. During the Nine Years War he fought diligently at his brother's side, fighting in Connaught and Lough Foyle. After Red Hugh's death Ruairí became head of the O'Donnell clan. He became the first Earl of Tír Chonaill and was granted a patent from King James I for his lands in February 1603. In the same year he married Lady Bridget Fitzgerald, daughter of the Earl of Kildare. O'Donnell's position however was short lived.

In-fighting between sub-chieftains and sects of the O'Donnell clan proved impossible to quell. By 1607 Ruairí, left with declining lands and decreasing income, was forced to admit he had lost control of the territory. In September 1607 Ruairí joined with Cú Chonnacht Maguire and O'Neill and left from Rathmullan bound for Spain. Both Ruairì and his brother became ill and died within a short time of their arrival in Rome, Ruairí in July 1608 and Cathbharr in September. They were both buried in the Church of San Pietro Montorio, in Rome.

Hugh O'Neill - Earl of Tyrone (c.1550-1616)

Hugh O'Neill (Aodh Ó Neill) was born around 1550 in Tyrone, the second son of the Baron Dungannon and the grandson of Conn Bacach O'Neill, the first Earl of Tyrone. After the death of his father, O'Neill was fostered to families living within the pale and was raised with English customs and traditions. Internal disputes within the lordship meant that for most of his early life O'Neill's future position within the clan was uncertain, although Queen Elizabeth I supported his claim to the title of Earl of Tyrone. This helped secure him the lordship. Increasing incursions by the English into his lands led to Tyrone's eventual rebellion against the Queen. The Earl had

secretly supported O'Donnell and Maguire since the beginning of the Nine Years War but it was not until 1595 that he openly rebelled and was declared a traitor to the crown, the same year as he was finally proclaimed The O'Neill, chieftain of the O'Neill clan. O'Neill enjoyed success at the beginning of the Nine Years War, the battle of Yellow Ford in 1598 being a particular personal victory for him. The arrival of the Spanish at Kinsale in September 1601 marked a turning point in the conflict and was the beginning of the end for O'Neill.

Numerous reasons have been given for O'Neill's subsequent flight from Ireland. Although he retained his title and estate and was granted a full pardon by James I, O'Neill's position was made increasingly difficult by the presence of the English administration. His enemies conspired together to gradually chip away at his lands and authority in Ulster. O'Neills' decision to leave for Spain with O'Donnell and Maguire was unexpected. It is unclear whether he left with the intention of returning with additional Spanish support for the cause or whether he resigned himself to the fact that there was no hope of maintaining his authority in the north. Whatever his reason for leaving, it appears that a normally calm O'Neill panicked on hearing that the ship had arrived to carry them to Spain. He made a desperate effort to gather his family together and rushed from Slane in County Meath to Rathmullan to join the rest of the party, leaving an infant son behind him. He spent his remaining days in Rome, supported by a pension from King Philip and living at a residence provided by the Pope. He never gave up requesting help from Spain, still writing to the King of Spain up until the year before his death.

His health deteriorated and he died in Rome on the 20th of July 1616, leaving the Countess O'Neill, who died less than two years later, penniless. He is buried in the city in the Church of San Pietro Montorio.

Red Hugh O'Donnell – Lord of Tír Chonaill (1572-1602)

Red Hugh O'Donnell (Aodh Ó Dónaill, Hugh Roe, Aodh Rua) was the eldest son of Sir Hugh O'Donnell, Lord of Tír Chonaill and Iníon Dhubh (of Scottish descent), born in October 1572.



Due to suspicions over the O'Donnells' loyalty, Sir John Perrot, Governor of Ireland, decided to kidnap O'Donnell, his wife and their son Red Hugh, probably on the order of Elizabeth I. In September 1587 Perrot succeeded in kidnapping Red Hugh from Rathmullan in County Donegal and transported him by ship to Dublin Castle, where he remained incarcerated for four years. In January 1591, Red Hugh attempted to escape but was recaptured. A second attempt a year later in the winter of 1592 met with more success, with Red Hugh making his way to Wicklow, and from there returning to the O'Donnell castle at Ballyshannon.

During Red Hugh's incarceration his father had been ill and the English garrison ran amuck in Tír Chonaill. Upon his return his mother assisted him in pressing for his recognition as Chieftain of the O'Donnells'. In May 1592, Red Hugh became Lord O'Donnell, chieftain of the O'Donnells' clan at a ceremony at the inauguration stone at Doon Rock, near Kilmacrennan, at the young age of 19 years. He immediately began strengthening his position with his nearest ally and neighbour Hugh O'Neill. O'Donnell led a very successful campaign into Sligo and Connaught, recovering lands that historically had been part of the O'Donnell lordship. He also fought at O'Neill's side at the Battle of the Yellow Ford.

However, the greatest threat to O'Donnell's success came in the form of his kinsman, Niall Garbh O'Donnell. Niall Garbh took Red Hugh's absence as an opportunity to further his own ambitions, by forming an alliance with the English. He managed to seize Lifford Castle and the Friary of Donegal while Sir Henry Docwra raided and plundered lands in Inishowen in 1600. O'Donnell initially made efforts to recover his losses in Donegal, but upon hearing of

the Spanish landing at Kinsale, assembled his army for the long march south to join them. The defeat at Kinsale resulted in O'Donnell departing for Spain, leaving his command to his brother Ruairí. O'Donnell left from Castlehaven, County Cork with the intention of returning with reinforcements from Spain. He landed in the north of the country at Corunna, but was not immediately granted an audience with the King. He languished there for months before receiving permission to travel to the court at Valladolid in August 1602. Upon his arrival however, O'Donnell was taken ill and died in mysterious circumstances shortly afterwards at Simancas Castle.

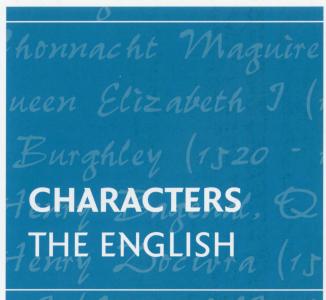
Hugh Maguire – Lord of Fermanagh (d.1600)

Hugh Maguire (Aodh Mág Uidhir) was the eldest son of Cú Chonnacht Maguire, Lord of Fermanagh, and Nuala O'Donnell of Tír Chonaill. With the support of the O'Donnells and the Irish Privy Council Maguire succeeded as chieftain on his father's death.

Like his neighbouring chiefdoms, Maguire was subject to increasing threats to his autonomy from English garrisons and government officials impinging on his lands. Maguire was the first to openly rebel against the English garrison, leading an attack against Henry Bagenal at the Erne Forde near Ballyshannon in 1593 and laying siege to his own castle at Enniskillen, in February 1594 after it was taken by the English. Maguire also fought at the Battle of the Yellow Ford by O'Neill's side. On an expedition into Munster in February 1600 Maguire was shot and died instantly.

Cú Chonnacht Maguire-Lord of Fermanagh (d.1608)

Hugh Maguire was succeeded by his younger brother Cú Chonnacht.
Cú Chonnacht was sent to France to commission the ship that brought the Earls to the continent. He travelled with the Earls on their flight and continued on with O'Neill and O'Donnell to Rome.
After his stay in Rome, Cú Chonnacht, determined to make his way to Spain, set out by sea from Naples. During an overnight stay in Genoa, he was struck down with a fever and died shortly afterwards on the 12th of August 1608.





Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603)

Elizabeth I, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, became Queen of England upon the death of her half sister Mary in 1558. Elizabeth inherited an almost bankrupt kingdom from her sister and one that had been divided in two by the Protestant Reformation. Among Elizabeth's first tasks were the increase of the country's wealth and the bridging of the divide caused by religious differences. Much of Elizabeth's reign was spent in efforts to avoid a war with either Spain or France (who were enemies at the time). The Spanish Armada in 1588, although a disaster for the Spanish, left Elizabeth fearful of an invasion from Spain.

The wars in Ireland occupied much of the later years of Elizabeth's reign and managed again to bankrupt her treasury. Elizabeth had trusted O'Neill as her loyal subject in the north and was outraged by the treasonous revolt of Tyrone and the Lords of Ulster. She made efforts to secure peace with the clans between 1595 and 1598, fearing the arrival of Spanish aid and a war she could not afford. She was however unwilling to recognise the sovereignty of the ancient family lordships. News of her death was kept from O'Neill until after the signing of the Treaty of Mellifont, as Mountjoy feared that the death of his enemy would strengthen O'Neill's will to continue.

William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520 - 1598), Lord Treasurer of England, (1572-1598)

William Cecil was a member of Elizabeth's council but was also her long time friend and advisor. He held the position of Secretary of State and Lord Treasurer and operated an

extensive network of spies and intelligence in order to retain his privileged position of power at the Queen's side. His son, Robert Cecil, carried on the position upon his death, becoming an advisor to Elizabeth and then later to James I. He was created the Earl of Salisbury in 1605.

Sir Henry Bagenal, Queens Marshal (1590-1598)

Henry Bagenal was the son of Sir Nicholas Bagenal, who had settled in Newry, County Down. He became a member of the Irish Privy Council and marshal of the army in 1590. He hoped to increase his land holdings by the break up of the O'Neill estate and consistently made accusations against O'Neill's loyalty, forcing him to defend his position and his right to authority in Ulster. The feud between the two men intensified when in August 1591 O'Neill, in an effort to form an alliance by marriage, eloped with and married Bagenal's young sister Mabel. In 1593 however the two men fought side by side when O'Neill was ordered to assist Bagenal in quashing Maguire's revolt. O'Neill's subsequent defection to the other side supported Bagenal's accusations that he had long supported the rebels. In August 1598 Bagenal received command of a large force, compiled to bring aid to the fort on the Blackwater, County Armagh, which was under siege. The ensuing battle, at Yellow Ford on the 14th of August, was a disaster for the English and Bagenal himself was shot dead.

Sir Henry Docwra (1564-1631), British Commander at Derry

Henry Docwra, a soldier in the English army, came to Ulster in 1600, landing with an army at Lough Foyle with the task of crushing the rebellion. He formed alliances with Niall Garbh O'Donnell, a cousin of Red Hugh. He participated in the attack on the O'Donnell strongholds in Lifford and Ballyshanon while also taking Inishowen in a bloody rampage across the peninsula. Opportunities in Ireland saw Docwra's rise from Army Captain to Knighted landowner. He was granted 2,000 acres of land near Lifford in the Ulster Plantation, was appointed Treasurer of War in Ireland in 1616 and made a member of the Privy Council. He became Baron Docwra in 1621.

Charles Blount, Baron Mountjoy, (1563-1606) Lord Deputy of Ireland, Lord Lieutenant

Charles Blount served as both Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1600-1603 and as Lord Lieutenant from 1603. Mountjoy was an extremely capable strategist, arguably the best the English forces had to offer. He first faced O'Neill in battle at Moyry Pass in October 1600 where he suffered a defeat at the hands of the Irish. The Irish victory however was short lived, as both armies would meet again a year later at the Battle of Kinsale. After his victory at Kinsale he returned to England a hero. He was appointed Master of the Ordnance by James I and later became the Earl of Devon.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, Lord Deputy of Ireland (1571-1575), (1588-1594)

Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam served as Lord Deputy for two periods in the late 16th century in Ireland. His efforts to bring Ulster under English administration alienated the Ulster Irish. He successfully conquered the Monaghan lordship of the McMahons in 1590 but his efforts to do the same in Fermanagh and Donegal led to the infractions that would eventually initiate the Nine Years War.

Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex (1566-1601), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1599-1600)

Robert Devereux was a long-time favourite of Queen Elizabeth. An ambitious man he was appointed as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1599 at his own request and sent with an army to quell the rebellion. He arrived in Ireland with a large force of 17,000 men but instead of going to Ulster to fight O'Neill he decided to quash the rebellion in the Southeast. By the time Essex made his way to Ulster he had lost a large number of his force. His failure to crush O'Neill and his subsequent unauthorised ceasefire, agreed between the two men, led to him being stripped of his position. Unwilling to accept his new role he led a rebellion against the Queen, supported by a small band of his own followers, for which he was executed in 1601.

Sir George Carew (1555-1629)

Sir George Carew came to Ireland in 1574 in the service of his cousin, Sir Peter Carew. In 1576 he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of the County of Carlow. He held various posts mostly in Ireland, and was appointed as Treasurer of War in 1598. The following year he became President of Munster. He retired in 1603, but returned in 1610 to report on the condition of the country, with a view to a resettlement of Ulster; and in 1611 as Commissioner to reform the army and revenue of Ireland.

Sir John Davies (1569-1626), Attorney general

Sir John Davies was appointed as Solicitor General of Ireland in November 1603 at the end of the Nine Years War, later becoming Attorney General in 1606. He sent accounts of the Flight of the Earls to the Privy Council and was involved in the plantation of Ulster, during which he himself was granted some of the seized lands. He retired from office in 1619.

Sir Arthur Chichester (1563-1625)

Arthur Chichester was a career soldier involved in numerous successful adventures in the New World and Spain before he arrived in Ireland with the Earl of Essex in 1599. His brother had been the Governor of Carrrickfergus and Chichester reputedly came to Ireland to avenge his brother's death at the hands of the Irish rebels. Chichester was appointed Lord Deputy in 1605. He was not happy with the terms which O'Neill and O'Donnell received under the Treaty of Mellifont and felt cheated by their return to their estates. He began a campaign to destroy O'Neill, questioning his every move and his hereditary right to the title of the Earl of Tyrone. After the Flight of the Earls, Chichester was instrumental in the drawing up of the plans for the plantation. He himself was awarded a generous plot of land in the settlement, with a substantial plot around Dungannon and an estate in Inishowen.

James I (James VI of Scotland) (1566-1625)

James I became King of England upon the death of his cousin Elizabeth in 1603. He was the only child of Mary I, Queen of Scots, whom Elizabeth had executed in 1587. His coronation united the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England. He declared the Earls traitors to the crown upon hearing of their flight and seized their lands and property. James had been raised a staunch Protestant, and printed the first version of the bible in English in 1611. He saw the Ulster Plantation as an opportunity to convert the native Irish to Protestantism. Despite the success of the Plantation James remained fearful of further uprisings and of Catholic conspiracies against him. He used this fear to justify introducing further restrictions against Catholics and suppression of the religion.



James I (James VI of Scotland) (1566-1625)

Increasing disagreement with his parliament was a feature of James's reign. This bad feeling sowed the seed of the English Civil War of the 1640's, which led to James's son, King Charles I, eventually being executed by his own parliament.

A true discription of the Norwest partes of Irelande, wherin is showed the most parte of Obonnells contrye, part of Tirones part of M: Guyres part of Oronerchs: all the Co. of Elego, part of M: will ms, and parte of the Co. of Electomon truly collected is observed by Captaine Tohn Baxter Finished by Baptista Boazio. rwickes Countrie. Sirones Countrie. Newtowne. cast awaye in In this Hande there dwelleth a holye nan named Ofcanton of whom the one is doe turnes of peckled fromes uppor them, who he kepeth for that viel they thall dye win that yeare. S'Sew Argent. In this Bogg where this golden sonne is claced, there is scene in query wholt somer strange fightings of Battailes, femtime in foote is somtime with horse. Somtime castles siene on a sodaine, somtime woodes so somtime greate store of Cowes, dryungs and fightings for them. This hath bene certainely, siene by S. George Bingham. S. Francis Bartlett, and dyners others in their company of good creditt, Tirconnell. Scale of Jin Jushe Myles.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION



The Protestant Reformation refers to a religious and political movement that affected the whole of Europe. It consisted of a break away from the established Catholic Church and the foundation of the new Protestant religion.

In England these changes began with Henry VIII, who broke with Rome and proclaimed himself head of the English Church, in order to divorce his first wife. In 1532 Henry established the Church of England and was subsequently excommunicated by the Pope. The new religion brought with it new practices for worship and services but also had a huge influence on the structure of the landscape. In the mid 16th century the Church owned more than 1/5 of all land in England. In 1536 Henry began closing monasteries and abbeys and sold the property to wealthy nobles, clearing tenants from the land in the process. The dissolution of the monasteries was hugely unpopular with Catholics and resulted in a series of minor uprisings.

Henry's son Edward VI further reformed the Church. He brought in the use of the common prayer book and banned statues, shrines and stained glass from churches. Queen Mary, Edward's half sister, succeeded to the throne after her brother's death. She was a Catholic and earned the nickname of 'Bloody Mary' for her persecution of Protestants, burning hundreds at the stake for heresy. Mary's reign however did not last long and she was replaced by her Protestant sister Elizabeth, returning the country again to the new faith.

In Ireland, only a small minority adopted the new religion. The old Anglo-Norman families remained Catholic, as did the Gaelic lords. The fight for the Catholic cause won O'Neill not only the support of the Spanish but also the backing of Rome. The Irish were seen as defending the faith and fighting a noble war for the sake of religious freedom.







St. Anthony's College, Louvain

The first Franciscans arrived in Ireland in the mid 13th century. They were linked with the great households including the O'Neill's and the O'Donnell's with Red Hugh becoming one of their most famous patrons. They lost much of their land holdings during the Protestant Reformation, when their order was outlawed and the monasteries were closed.

The Plantation of Ulster had a detrimental effect on the Franciscans, destroying their last places of refuge in the north. Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire was a Franciscan friar (later Archbishop of Tuam), who accompanied Red Hugh to Simancas in 1602. He was instrumental in the setting up of the Irish Franciscan College in Louvain in Belgium. Founded in April 1607, the college had Philip III as its patron. (The College was part of the University founded in the early 15th century).

St. Anthony's became renowned for the excellence of its teachers and the number of writings produced by its scholars, who were the first to print in the Irish language. The College continued to supply friars to Ireland throughout the 17th and 18th centuries but was closed by the Napoleonic invasion in 1793 and the friars were scattered. The building was eventually sold in 1822. A large collection of the Friary's work was salvaged and brought to Ireland by Father Francis Walsh. It remained for some time at the Franciscan Archives in Killiney before being transferred to the Archives Department of University College Dublin. (Some of the collection is also preserved in Brussels). The College building was bought back by the Irish Franciscan order in 1925.

The Annals of the Four Masters / Annála Ríoghachta Éireann

Best known of all the works produced by the Franciscan friars in Ireland are the Annals of the Four Masters. The Annals contain a complete early history of Ireland up to the early 17th century and were completed in August 1636, in County Donegal.

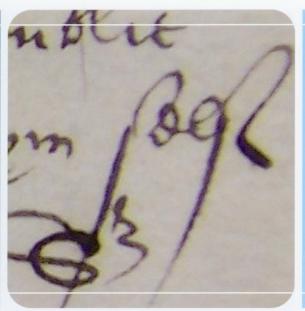
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© Royal Irish Academy.

The Annals were based on earlier works including the Annals of Loch Cé (1014), the Annals of Ulster (15th century) and the Annals of Connacht (1234). They were compiled by Cúcoigcríche Ó Duibhgennáin (County Leitrim), Fearfease Ó Maolconaire (County Roscommon), Cúcoigcríche Ó Clérigh and the most well known of the four, Friar Michael Ó Clérigh (County Donegal d. 1643). Michael Ó Clérigh (also known as Tadhg an tSléibhe before he became a friar) was from a family of scholars renowned for their interest in native Irish history and poetry. A professional chronicler trained in the Irish bardic schools, he was sent to Ireland to collect information on Irish antiquities and the lives of the Irish saints and to return the information collected to his superiors in Louvain.

UNDERSTANDING DOCUMENTS: A little bit about Archives and Palaeography



What are archives?

Archives are original documents, maps, plans and recordings that have historical value or contain unique information and are therefore preserved for all time. They are also called primary sources.

What is palaeography?

Palaeography is the study and deciphering of old handwriting. When you first look at documents from the 16th century the handwriting can appear illegible. It takes a bit of practice, determination and knowledge of a few simple rules to help with transcribing.

Your pack contains transcriptions of each document, but why not try transcribing a little bit of English text for yourself before looking at the transcriptions?

English Palaeography:

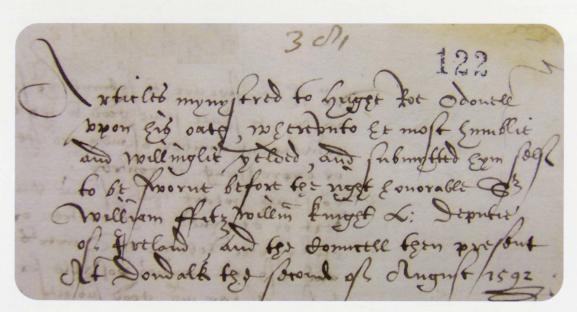
Things to remember when transcribing from English:

Spelling Mistakes

Spelling was not standardised until the 18th century. Not only did people spell certain words differently from one another; a person could often spell the same word differently within one document, especially place names.

Old Words

Some words fall out of use, you may have to look them up in the dictionary after transcription.



© National Archives, SP 63/116, f. 122

• Some letters are interchangeable:

Y and I – for example mynystered = ministered I and J – for example Maiestie = Majesty U and V – for example vpon = upon

Letters that can be easily mixed up: S and F

This is an S



This is also an S used at the end of words



This is an F



This is stavery common ligature



Two types of e that look like o





Letters that may confuse

R- there are a few different version's of r

This r looks like a w



This is a capital R and looks like a K



C – lower case c can look like an r



Capitals C can also be confusing



g – can look like a y



H – can be very sloppy, looking like a vertical wavy line



And don't forget that V and U are interchangeable and look like this:



Ligatures: What are those?

Sometimes two letters are linked together, the writer doesn't remove the pen from the paper.

• Abbreviations - Those lazy Tudors!

Like today, people in the past abbreviated words rather than writing out the whole word.

Some common examples are:

Lo for Lord

Cⁿ for Captain

Wth for which

Prish for Parish

Abbreviations for words beginning with p are very common.

The easiest way to transcribe is to write out the sentence as best you can, then read over it again. Making sense of the sentence may help you with the letters or words you missed. Don't worry if you don't get the hang of it straight away, it takes lots of practice.

Irish Palaeography

The text used in Irish manuscripts of the period is completely different from the English text. The style of the text in these manuscripts is based on a tradition that developed in Ireland from the 7th century onwards (the Early Christian period). It is an insular script developed from earlier Roman texts unique to monasteries in Ireland and Britain.

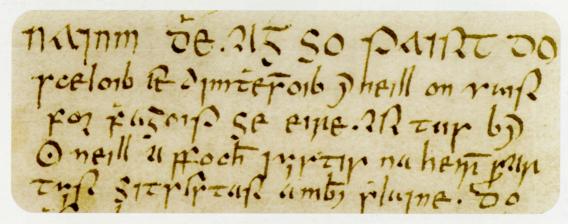
Any one volume or manuscript was worked on by a number of scribes who painstakingly transcribed from one volume to another, copying earlier works.

The difference in dates

You may notice differences in dates when looking through the documents. This is because different calendars were in use. The Irish used the Roman calendar (Gregorian calendar), while the English used their own, so there is a slight variation in the date. The English calendar in the 16th century was 10 days behind the Irish calendar. The calendars were not synchronised until 1752.

The text can be very difficult to read. It takes years of scholarly work to become an expert. The text, written in Latin or old Irish, has no punctuation and uses lots of abbreviations. You will notice little strokes above letters for abbreviations. Common ones used are the nomina sacra or sacred names, for example: Ihs for Jesus and xps meaning Christus or Christ.

Spelling in Irish manuscripts differs from those on the continent; they may have been influenced by native language. They also use lots of ligatures.



© University College Dublin



About this pack - Developing the skills of an historian

In this pack there is a selection of documents from the late 16th and early 17th century relating to events that took place in Ireland.

You should use this pack, not only to acquire knowledge about the past, but also to:

- Learn about primary sources original documents recorded at the time of the event.
- Be able to select important information from documents.
- Think critically about that information, form your own opinions and be able to back them up with evidence from the documents.

The documents are derived from manuscripts, letters and printed proclamations that help build up a picture of events during the period.

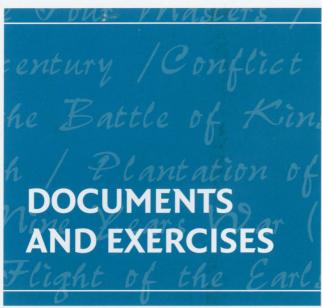
Mapmakers were employed not only to produce maps but also to produce artistic representations and accounts of events long before photography could fulfil the same purpose. When examining these images it is important to remember that the artist is in

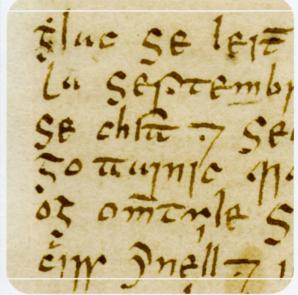
the employ of a patron, and their job is to make their employer look good. When looking at documents such as proclamations and letters consider that this was mass communication in its day. Consider how accounts of events were not always given by eye-witnesses but may have been written by someone who heard them second or third hand, with the account becoming more embellished with each telling.

As biographers of the great Gaelic families, the Franciscan scribes would paint their patrons as noble and heroic, brush over their mistake and exaggerate their strengths and victories.

When looking at historical documents it is important to remember:

- People in the past were no different from today, they could be biased, make mistakes or purposely mislead others.
- Knowledge of the past is incomplete, we have to make decisions based on the best available evidence.
- History is subject to change all the time as new information comes to light, even from 400 years ago.





Theme 1: Gaelic Ireland in the 16th Century

Document no. 1: Map of the Northwest Part of Ireland by Baptista Boazio (P/49 (7) Courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, London)

- 1. Do you recognise the locations in this map? Identify the modern counties (the names of the towns may help in identification).
- 2. Locate and name a town in counties, Donegal, Tyrone and Sligo.
- 3. The names of the families that control each region are located on the map, can you name three of them (there may be a variation in spelling to the modern versions you are familiar with)?
- 4. What natural features are represented on the map? In your opinion do the natural features have any bearing on where settlements are located?
- 5. Compare this 16th century map to a modern map of the same region. Compare the maps for accuracy of details and changes to the landscape. In your opinion what difficulties did English mapmakers in the north west of Ireland face during the period?

Document no. 2: The O'Neill Family Tree

(Mss. 635 Carew Manuscripts, courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library)

- 1. Identify the line of succession from Con Bacach to Hugh O'Neill.
- 2. Is Hugh O'Neill the obvious candidate to the title of Earl of Tyrone in your opinion?
- 3. How many English titles (Earl, Knight, Baron) were bestowed upon the O'Neill family?

- 4. How many members of the family are described as being traitors to the Queen?
- 5. In your opinion, why are the female family members not represented?

Document no. 3:

An Irish Lord Feasting in the open air (John Derrick's Image of Ireland, 1588)

This document is a woodcut and description from an early printed book. It is the work of artist John Derrick, who travelled to Ireland with the Lord Deputy to record his defeat of the native Irish.

- 1. Describe in your own words the scene represented in this image.
- 2. In your opinion are the Irish represented in a good light? Give reasons for your choice.
- 3. According to the description what do the bards sing about? And how does it affect the 'rebels'?
- 4. Do you think that this is an eyewitness account and is the author biased towards his subjects?
- 5. How do you think this image and description influenced the English people who studied the book?

Consider

How have the documents helped in your understanding of the period? Consider why they were produced and if they were important to English understanding of 16th century Ireland.

Theme 2: Conflict - The Nine Years War and the Battle of Kinsale

Document no. 4: The Battle of Erne Forde (1593) (Cotton Augustus Lyol ii 38 courtes)

(Cotton Augustus I vol ii . 38, courtesy of the British Library)

- 1. What type of document is this and why in your opinion was it produced?
- 2. Describe the scene represented in the image. What advantages do visual representations have over text based documents?
- 3. Do you think that this is an eyewitness account and is there bias in his depiction? Give reasons for your choice.
- 4. Summarise in a short paragraph what took place in the battle, written from the point of view of Sir Henry Bagenal.
- 5. Can you identify who is riding into battle at Henry Bagenal's side? How do you think Maguire felt facing him in battle?

Document no. 5:

Report given to Captain Stafforde by George Cawell, English Spy 1596 (SP63/ 190/167, courtesy of the National Archives, UK)

- 1. What important event does Cawell report on?
- 2. Was Captain Stafforde present at the meeting himself? How did he hear about the events that took place?
- 3. Do you think this information was useful to the English? Give reasons for your choice?
- 4. Cawell names two of the new arrivals, who were they? (2nd paragraph)
- 5. Consider the position Cawell found himself in, what dangers would he have faced?

Document no. 6: Plan of Battlefield at Kinsale

(Published in Pacata Hibernia, courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

- 1. What type of document is this and why do you think it was completed?
- 2. Write a short summary of what is represented in the plan, listing the principal people, Irish and English, mentioned by the artist.
- 3. How are O'Neill and O'Donnell depicted? What purpose did this representation serve, in your opinion?

Document no. 7:

The Death of Red Hugh O'Donnell

(From Lughaidh Uí Chlérigh's Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill, courtesy of the Royal Irish Academy)

Red Hugh's biographer Lughaidh Uí Chlérigh wrote this account of the death of Red Hugh O'Donnell in his manuscript on the young chieftain's life.

- 1. Describe in your own words the funeral portrayed by O'Clerigh.
- 2. How accurate do you think this account is? Is there any embellishment, in your opinion?
- 3. Based on this account; did the Spanish hold Red Hugh in high regard? Give a reason for your answer.
- 4. Consider the description of Red Hugh's valour. Is this a positive description by modern standards, in your opinion?

Consider:

Compare the depiction of the Irish armies in battles (Documents 4 and 6) with the description of Red Hugh's achievement given by O'Clerigh. How has bias on both sides affected the resulting documents? Do the documents contradict each other and how have they affected your own conclusions?

Theme 3: Flight, Exile and Death

Document no. 8: Richard Bartlett's Map of Dungannon, c.1602

(Mss 2656 (5), courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

This is a map, part of a series produced by cartographer Richard Bartlett.

- This map shows a crannog, Dungannon Castle and the Tullahogue chair, site of the inauguration of the O'Neill chieftain. Can you identify each item?
- 2. Describe in a short paragraph what is depicted.
- 3. Two symbols, one of each culture, English and Irish, are used. Can you identify them?
- 4. Bartlett was later captured and beheaded by the Irish, why do you think that happened? Explain your decision.
- 5. How do you think O'Neill would have felt about this depiction of the English flag flying at Dungannon Castle?

Document no. 9: Letter of Sir Arthur Davies to Lord Salisbury, 1607

(SP 63/222/113, courtesy of the National Archives, UK)

- 1. In this account, what was unusual about O'Neill's departure from Slane and what route does he take to Rathmullan?
- 2. What is described as O'Neill's 'impediment'?
- 3. Do you think that the description of O'Neill's treatment of his wife is accurate? Give reasons for your decision.
- 4. According to Davies what superstitious belief surrounds the young son of Cathbharr O'Donnell?
- 5. Summarise in your own words the events reported by Davies.

Document no. 10: Proclamation of Sir Arthur Chichester, 1607

(SP 63/222/249, courtesy of the National Archives, UK)

- 1. What type of document is this? Is it for a private or public audience?
- 2. What is the overall tone of the document? Is it positive towards the Earls?
- According to Chichester, what concessions has the King made to the ungrateful Earls? (first paragraph)

- 4. What words does he use to describe their current journey on the continent?
- 5. What are the King's plans for the Earl's estates? (third paragraph)
- 6. If this was the only account of the flight, what important points would we have learned? Can you summarise them?

Document no. 11: Petition of Bridget O'Donnell to the King, c. 1607

(CP/97/98 (7), courtesy of the Marquess of Salisbury)

- 1. What type of document is this and what is the overall tone?
- 2. Was Bridget O'Donnell a loyal subject to the King in your opinion?
- 3. Describe in your own words her feelings towards her estranged husband, based on the language she uses?
- Re-write Bridget's letter using your own words.
- 5. Does this account influence your opinion of Bridget and do you have any sympathy for the situation she finds herself in?

Document no. 12: The Journey over the Alps – Tadhq Ó Cianáin's Diary

(MS 21, courtesy of the Archives Department, University College Dublin)

- 1. What type of document is this and why was it written, in your opinion?
- 2. Do you get the impression that this is an accurate eyewitness account? Give reasons for you choice.
- 3. Select a sentence/passage that you feel describes the difficulties of the journey.
- 4. What actions were taken to recover the lost money? Why do you think they went to so much trouble?
- 5. Write a short paragraph, from O'Neill's point of view, about how he may have felt waiting in Piedmont. Take into account that he was once a proud leader and Earl and that he now finds himself in a strange country with an uncertain future.

Document no. 13:

The Death of Hugh O'Neill – Annals of the Four Masters

(MS 23 P7, f.293r courtesy of the Royal Irish Academy)

- 1. What type of document is this? Is it an eye witness account written at the time of the event?
- Do you consider it a reliable source?
 Are the authors impartial when describing O'Neill's character? Give reasons for your answer
- 3. According to the account, what evidence is there that God was pleased with the life that O'Neill led?
- 4. Is O'Neill described as a good leader and Lord of his estate? Summarise in your own words the account given of his leadership.
- 5. O'Neill is described as having passed his life in 'prosperity and happiness'. Do you think that is true? What in your opinion would be an accurate description?

Consider:

Based on this selection of documents, write your own account of the Flight of the Earls and the fate of Hugh O'Neill. In your account give your opinion on why the Earls left and the importance of Hugh O'Neill in Irish history.

Theme 4: The Plantation of Ulster

Document no. 14:

The Division and Plantation of the Escheated Counties

(Carew Mss. 630 f.1, courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library)

- 1. What type of document is this and when was it written?
- 2. The commission's project is the division and plantation of which Ulster counties?
- 3. What quantities (acres) were the plots to be divided into?
- 4. Portions of land are given to three types of landowners. Name the three types and list the differences between them.
- 5. How were the portions of land be allocated? Why do you think that was?

Document no. 15:

List of Undertakers (English Planters)

(Carew Mss 630 f.25, courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library)

- 1. What is the purpose of this document in your opinion?
- 2. How many of the English Planters have titles (i.e. Earls or Lords or Knights)?

- 3. In which county is Sir John Davis awarded land and how many acres did he receive?
- 4. How many received estates that are described as 'greate' (i.e. 2000 acres)?

Document no. 16 A General Plat of the Lands

Belonging to the City of London (Companies)

(Carew Mss. 634 f.2, courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library)

- 1. What class of document is this and in your opinion, what purpose did it serve?
- 2. Identify the location represented on a modern map of the region and compare the two for accuracy and changes to the landscape. Are the principal settlements (towns) pictured on the map still in use today?
- 3. List the different professions of people who received portions of land.
- 4. Consider the effect of the influx of new professions to the region. Write a short paragraph on how you think it affected the development of the towns around Lough Foyle.

Document no. 17 The Plat of the City of Londonderry

(Mss 634 f. 8, courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library)

- 1. What type of document is this and what purpose did it serve in your opinion?
- 2. Describe the layout of the city and the features represented in the image.
- 3. List the persons who live within the City walls (use the Key on the back of the drawing). How many families are living within the city according to the description?
- 4. Compare the plan to a modern map of Derry. Are the streets laid out the same? What changes do you notice?

Consider:

Based on the information in these documents, consider the impact of the Plantation of Ulster. How do you think the influx of new people changed the province and what effect did it have on the displaced native Irish?

Acknowledgments:

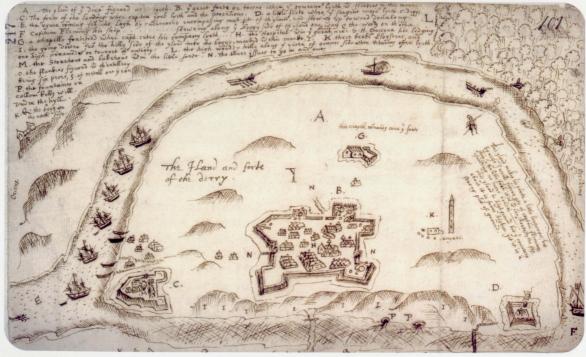
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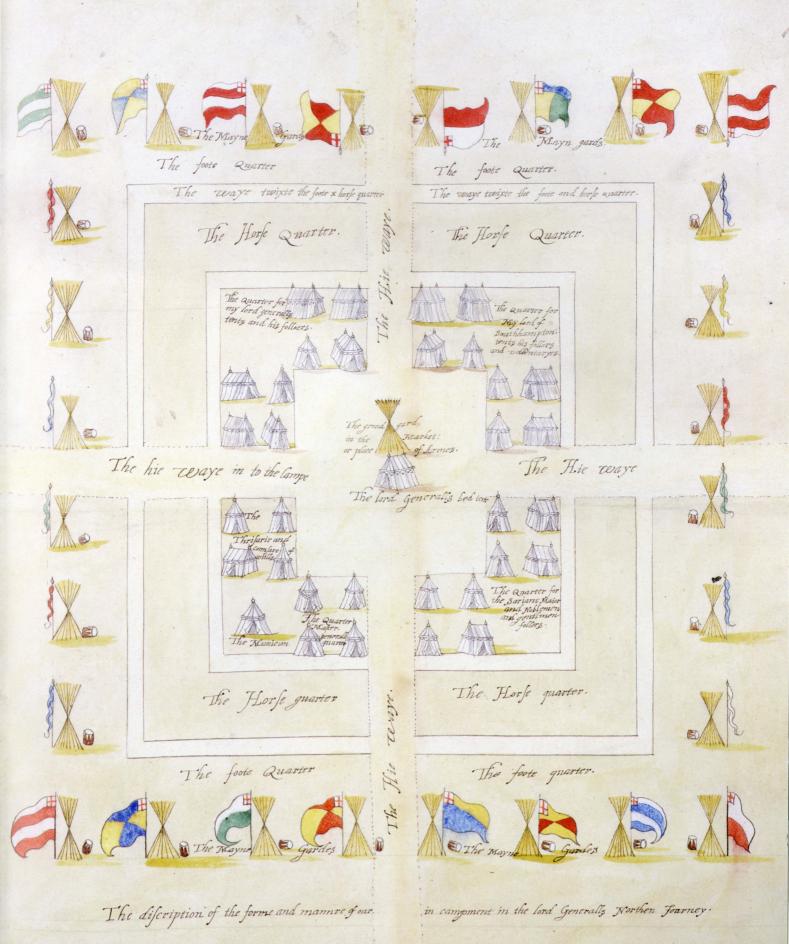
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JOHN DERRICK – AN IRISH LORD FEASTING IN THE OPEN AIR

Well beeves are knocked down, the butchers play their part, Then take each one the entrails forth, and liver with the heart. And being breathing new the unwashed puddings they Upon the coals or embers hot for want of gridiron lay.

And scarce not half enough (draff serveth well for hogs),
They take them up and fall thereto like ravening hungry dogs.
Devouring gut and limb no part doth come amiss,
Whose lips and chaps with blood do swim most true report is this.
As for the greatest kern they have the chiefest stuff,
Though dirty stripes and offal like please underknaves enough.
Whereof they part do roast and other some do boil,
Thus what between the sod and roast fierce hunger they assoil.

No table there is spread, they have no courtlike guise. The earth sometimes stands them instead whereon their victual lies. Their cushions are of straw, of rushes or of hay, Made banquette-wise with withies their tails to underlay. Their platters are of wood by cunning turners made, But not of pewter (credit me) as in our English trade.

Now ere the lord sits down with concubine or wife, (Whereof he often makes exchange in compass of his life), Before he takes his room a friar doth begin, To bless the rebel with his wife the place and thieves therein. Which when he blessed hath in highest place of all, The chieftain then this traitorous knave like honest man doth 'stall. And next his surgeon he doth set at friar's side, And then himself his room enjoyeth adorned with his bride.

In fine, the hellish rout like lucky fellows met,
Do sit them down on straw or ground their victuals for to get.
Long stabbers pluck they forth instead of handsome knives,
And with the same they slash me out good God what pretty shives.

Not shives of bread I mean for that were very rare,
But gobs of flesh not boiled enough which is their common fare.
Their chiefest drink is milk, for want of milk, the broth,
They take which thing the surgeon swears is physic by his troth.
And if that broth be scant yet water is at hand,
For every river yields enough within that goodly land.
Again if fortune fawneth or on them chance to smile.
She fills them with usquebaugh (uisce beatha) and wine another while.
O that is cheer in bowls it beautifieth the feast,
And makes them look with drunken nolls from most unto the least.

Now when their guts be full then comes the pastime in, The bard and harper melody unto them do begin. This bard he doth report the noble conquests done, And eke in rhymes shows forth at large their glory thereby won. Thus he at random runneth: he pricks the rebels on, And shows by such external deeds their honour lies upon. And more to stir them up to prosecute their ill, What great renown their fathers got they show by rhyming skill. And they most gladsome are to hear of parents' name, As how by spoiling honest men they won such endless fame. Wherefore like graceless grafts sprung from a wicked tree, They grow through daily exercise to all iniquity.

And more t'augment the flame and rancour of their heart, The friar of his counsels vile to rebels doth impart.

Affirming that it is an alms deed to God,

To make the English subjects taste the Irish rebels' rod.

To spoil, to kill, to burn, the friar's counsel is,

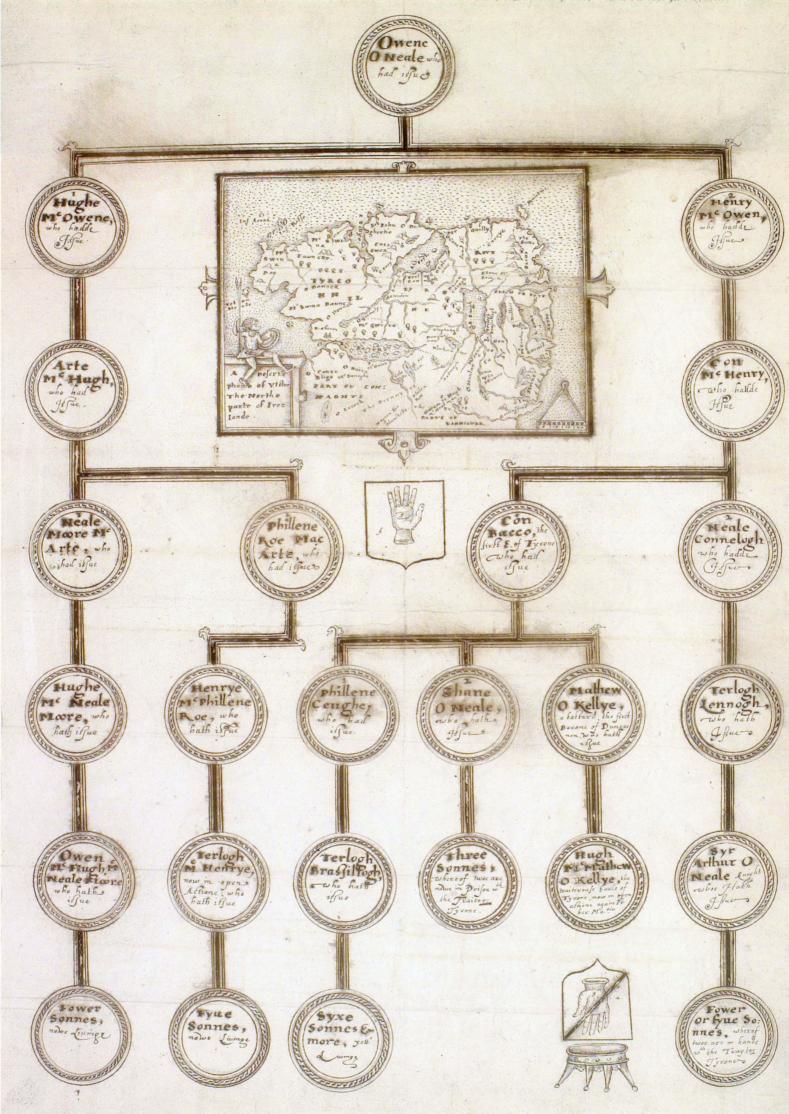
And for the doing of the same he warrants heavenly bliss.

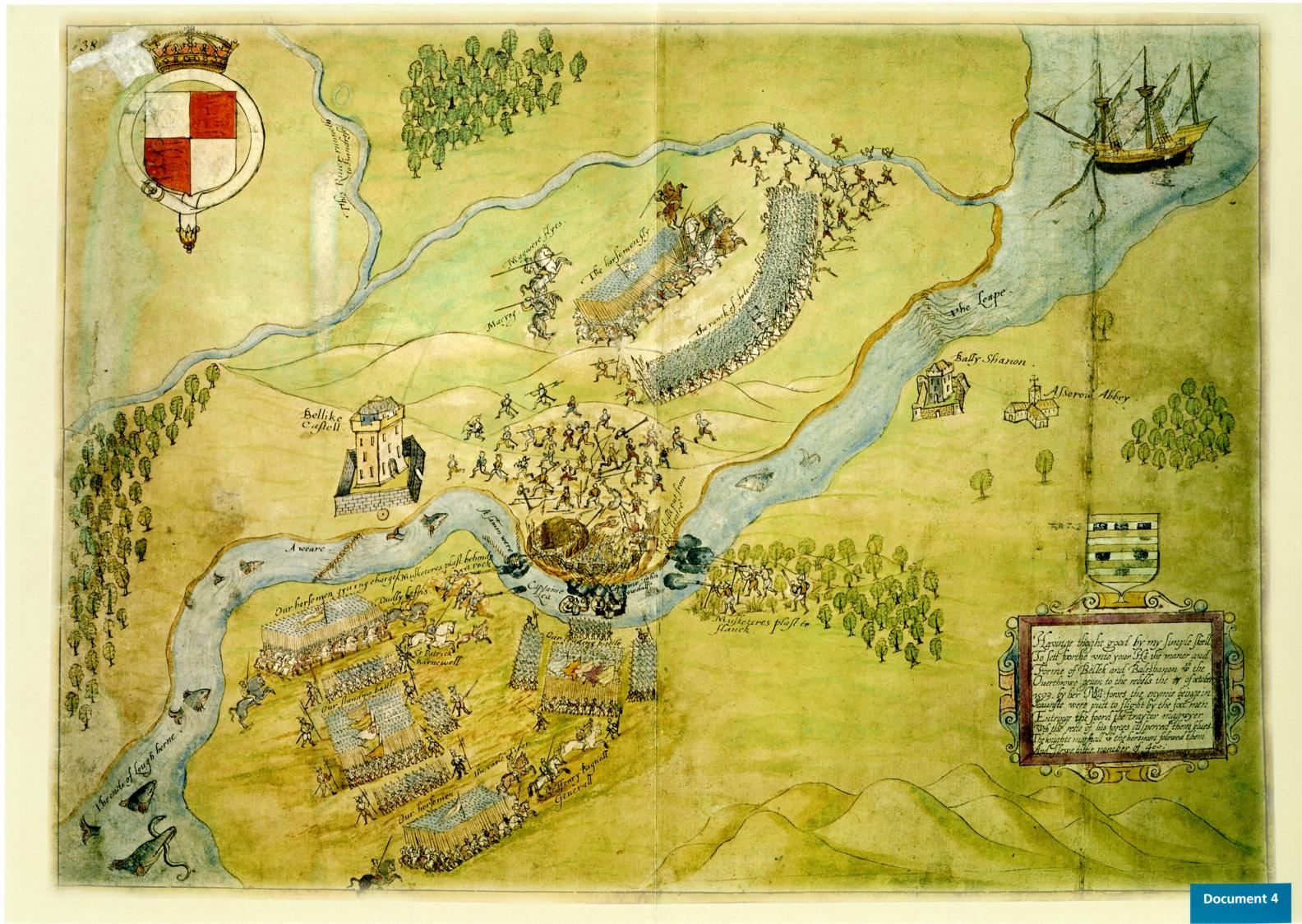
He tells a holy tale, the white he turns to black,

And through the pardons in his mail he works a knavish knack.

(extract from John Derrick, Image of Ireland)







Montifem to tome most se arivalo of the Examiand in may last, and be conferent be tween to farlo of Exprosing and offers of for Long of Flifter and flougo de couo, de linde ponto mo tous fon Aramos fondo dominament of Gen mate fonte in Carling ford, the New 246 and Ardmaghe Co road por lent att Gen muching by the congression weo road por lent att Gen muching Add to 1 att Lifford. TEPAPERO first go later told O Domico brings Let Lifford poron les first more of the drivale of to Examinate Stiffe a toget in all gift atho ponto Hormork Evantes broken don firings gym of Gin Domingo, rot two war fant pron a fan our Lomme foring Go to Bould not som porto Hormork & Show fent a mil superon for forway followings downings som mork to make gib that suplying Anto Lifford Bing Zdomica good to mitter & Damand, te spect of from Gib mamo roats Alongo de cour, Go forond fon wood 2 four fant, rogofor man rodo Sanfingo. Doxmork putly, son to reverst of Gir menog fent for Gird Honge Land of mos gin abroad in Gib somby of Caringe Among Fam mor Hal go work in aminor 3 books for more sport postuly porto Dormork & off gird comingo Dormork de mamide of Sym roget morog, or defined sym to coally debrows cot from Downork portently de lined ponto gom left for thomme for mont To amiary lama all Minguely Boyd in Joresmith, 3 houle Sym Gat to Gal off a Forgal wroand a factor Lomica not go gond gam, and for the boings in Fritz for could not was it, And Gen Dowmork Loud to congre Dano & Got a mont Sym fort to you puto Lyfford to much for for Emining, organizar Dono Sol Som to do info gym bef ought go on betangt go gar gont in girb plugat ponto my do: gardall and bat ge conditions
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REPORT GIVEN TO CAPTAIN STAFFORDE BY GEORGE CAWELL

Advertisemts touchinge the arivall of the Spaniards in maii last and the Conference betweene the Earle of Tyrone and others of the Lords of Ulster and Alonso de Cous, delived unto me Capten Ffrances Stafforde Commander of her ma(jas)tes forces in Carlyngford, the Neweye and Ardmaghe the 24th of June 1596 by George Cawell who was p(re)sent att there meeting att Lyfford.

Ffursthe saithe that O Donnell being att Lyfford upon the first newes of the arrival of the Spaniards dispatched in all hast a l(ett)er unto Cormack the erles brother advertizinge hym of their cominge, w(hi)ch l(ett)er was sent upon a Friday, O Donnell fearing the l(ett)er should not com unto Cormarkes handes sent a messenger on the Friday followinge desienige Cormack to mak his p(re)sente reply[] unto Lyfford (beinge O Donnell horse/house) to meete the Spaniards, the Cheefe of them his name was Alonso de cous, the second p(er)son was a secretary, whose name was Santyago.

Cormack p(rese)ntly, upon receipt of this newes sent for this George Cawell, who was then abroad in his Country having understandinge that he was inquired & looked for, prepayred p(re)sentlye unto Cormack & att his cominge Cormack demanded of hym what newes, & desiered hym to walk abroade w(i)th hym, Cormack p(re)sently delivered unto hym that for c(er)tayne their were spayniards landed att Nichelly Begg in Terconnell, & tould hym that to that effect he had receaued a l(ett)et fro O'Donnell w(hi)ch he showed hym, but the l(ett)er beinge in Irishe he could not read it, And then Cormack tould George Cawell that he ment hym self to goo unto Lyfford to meete the Spaniards, wherupon Cawell bide hym to advise hym self what he did because he had put in his pledge unto my Lo(rd) Generall and that he would be as muche suspected for goinge unto them, as for practizinge w(i)th them, & p(er)saded hym w(i)th all to mak staie of his journey until the earle & O Donnell had bin(n)e w(i)th them, then Cormack tould George Cawell that he would send hym the next daye unto Donnell & that he should deliver his mynd unto hym, as frankly as if he were there p(re)sent hym self,

Advertisements touching the arrival of the Spaniards in May last and the conference between the Earle of Tyron and others of the Lords of Ulster and Alonso de Cous, delivered unto me Captain Frances Stafford Commander of her majesty's forces in Carlingford and Newry and Armagh, the 24th of June 1596 by George Cawell who was present at their meeting at Lifford.

First saith that O'Donnell being at Lifford upon the first news of the arrival of the Spaniards dispatched in all hast a letter unto Cormac the Earl's brother advising him of their coming, which letter was sent upon a Friday. O'Donnell fearing the letter should not come unto Cormac's hands sent a messenger on the Friday following desiring Cormac to make his present reply unto Lifford (being O'Donnell's house) to meet the Spaniards, the chief of them his name was Alonso de Cous, the second person was a secretary, whose name was Santiago.

Cormac presently, upon receipt of this news sent for George Cawell, who was then abroad in his Country (and) having understanding that he was enquired (for, and) looked for, prepared presently unto Cormac. And at his coming Cormac demanded of him what news and desired him to walk abroad with him. Cormac presently delivered unto him that for certain there were Spaniards landed at Killybegs in Tir Chonnaill and told him that to that effect he has received a letter from O'Donnell which he showed him, but the letter being in Irish he could not read it. And then Cormac told George Cawell that he meant himself to go to Lifford to meet the Spaniards, where upon Cawell bid him do advise himself what he did because he had put in his pledge into my Lord General, and that he would be much suspected for going to them, as for practicing with them, and persuaded him with all to make stay of his journey until the Earl and O'Donnell had been with them. Then Cormac told George Cawell that he would send him the next day unto O'Donnell and that he should deliver his mind as frankly as if he were there present himself.

(This first column is a transcription of the document as it was written. The second column contains the modern spelling)



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Document 7

THE DEATH OF AODH RUADH O DOMHNAILL

Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill / The Life of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill Lughaidh Uí Chérigh

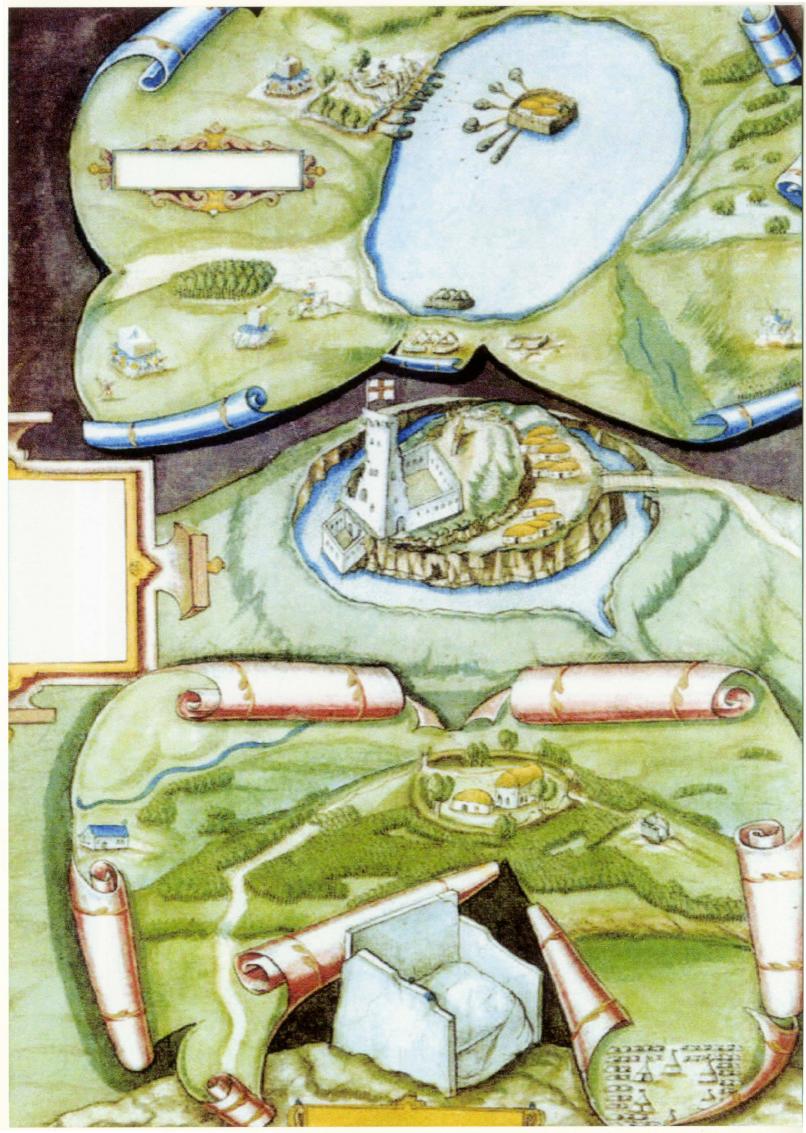
Ms 23 P 24 f.84v

[When he came to the town called Simancas (two leagues from Valladolid, the King's palace) God granted, and the ill-luck and misfortune, the wretchedness and the curse attending the island of Eremon and the Irish of fair Fodhla too, that O Domhnaill should catch his death-disease and his mortal illness. He was for sixteen days on his bed of sickness.] Previous page

At last he died at the end of that time, the tenth day of September exactly, lamenting his faults and transgressions, after fervent penance for his sins and iniquities, having made his confession without reserve to his spiritual confessors, and receiving the Body and Blood of Christ, and being duly anointed by the hands of his confessors and his own ecclesiastical elders, who were in his company always to that very hour. It was in the palace of the King of Spain himself in the town of Simancas he died. His body was then taken to Valladolid, to the King's Court, in a four-wheeled ornamental chariot, with countless numbers of State officers, of the Council and of the Royal Guard all round it, with lighted lanterns and bright torches of beautiful fair wax blazing all round on each side of it. He was buried after that in the monastery of St. Francis in the chapter house with great honour and respect and in the most solemn manner any Irishman ever before had been interred. Masses, and many hymns, chants, and melodious canticles were

offered for the welfare of his soul, and his requiem was celebrated as was fitting. Alas! It brought sorrow to multitudes the early withering of him who died there for his thirtieth year was not yet full run when he died. He was the head of support and planning, of counsel and disputation of the greater number of the Gaels of Ireland whether in peace or in war. He was a mighty bountiful lord with the attributes of a prince and the maintenance of justice, a lion in strength and force, with threatening and admonishing so that it was not allowed to gainsay his word, for whatever he ordered had to be done on the spot, a dove in meekness and gentleness to privileged men of the church and the arts, and every one who did not oppose him. A man who impressed fear and terror of him on everyone far and near, and on whom no man at all put dread. A man who banished brigands, crushed evildoers, exalted the sons of life, and hanged the sons of death.

A man who did not allow himself to be injured or afflicted, cheated or insulted without repaying and avenging it immediately; a determined, fierce, and bold invader of districts; a warlike, predatory aggressive plunderer of others' territories; a destroyer of any of the English and Irish that opposed him; a man who never failed to do all that befitted a prince so long as he lived; a sweet-sounding trumpet, with power of speech and eloquence, sense and counsel, with a look of affection in his face according to all who beheld him; (a prophesied chosen one whom the prophets foretold long before his birth).



mation / Irish Manuscript Tradition

BARTLETT'S MAP OF DUNGANNON

n the Exil Hu 3ú 14 Sir Jai

My most honovable good Lord, your 17 hath verea-ved advsvhifemout at large from the lo: Deputy & comfell of the Departure of the Earlis of Tirone 8) Two Comet out of this amydone, with being an accident entraordinary of conseave y Lp will accept mi good pourt divers relacions thereof, & Sundry cold of hear mens notes a observations there offers. & for enor marie my sport of the rather brothe in 100 wh my lotters with within at this tyme, by canfe this occurrent (if all the I Hap have Cura Haury Herrof Ber how with vygon the nake to a some no f first report and Brought with the State) John 1 I wal grosse my coming open this next terms by inter 2414 rupting the business wherein I should have then Common of D miployed. har silver or the accident doubtlesse it is trew, that they are mi Gowgned sigone, with the most part of that Com pany of mon momen & children, with ar named W Parthamen in the proclamation it is tose they took ship chis conta ping the fifth of this was fant segment. that the whom y -Saturday bufore the Carbo of Trong was wh of our franch. lo: Deput at slave where had spoort with his have not then Ly of his romany int angland; told him her word I for on the ber than about this begin ing of Mirholmas Tem 1 mother of growding to his miss directions. That her book But on the coll his water of my do: Deput in a more fad & passio ties of all nach manner then has reful at other typus; That from thour has went to Mellifort 8 Garrett Moores houfe when her west aboundantly when her this fooks ! took his book giving a sollower forewell to soly took his book giving a sollower forewell to soly was not fis manner than all mere on by Growfe it was not fis manner than all mere on by Growfe it was not fis manner **Document 9**

Letter Of Sir Davies ouvain / the to Lord Salisbury ireann / 16th cent

My most honorable good Lord, your Lordship hath received advertisement at large from the Lord Deputy and Council of the departure of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell out of this kingdom, which being an accident extraordinary I conceive your Lordship will accept in good part divers relations thereof, and sundry men's notes and observations thereupon. And I for my part, do the rather trouble your Lordship with my letters at this time, because this occurrence (if all the circumstances thereof be true which upon the first report are brought unto the slate) doth crosse my coming over this next term, by interrupting the business wherein I should have been employed.

For the accident, doubtless, it is true that they are embarked and gone with the most part of that company of men, women, and children, who are named in the proclamation; it is true they took shipping the 5th of this present September; that the Saturday before the Earl of Tyrone was with my Lord Deputy at Slane, where he had speech with his Lordship of his journey into England; told him he would be there about the beginning of Michaelmas term, according to his Majesty's directions. That he took his leave of my Lord Deputy in a more sad and passionate manner than he used at other times; that from thence he went to Mellifont, Sir Garret Moore's house, where he wept abundantly when he took his leave, giving a solemn farewell to every child and every servant in the house, which made them all marvel, because it was not his manner to use such compliments.

From thence, on Sunday, he went to Dundalk; on Monday he went to Dungannon, where he rested two whole days. On Wednesday night, they say, he traveled all night with his impediments, (I mean his women and children) and it is like-wise reported that the Countess, his wife, being exceedingly weary, slipped down from her horse, and, weeping, said she could go no farther; whereupon the Earl drew his sword, and swore a great oath that he would kill her in the place, if she would not pass on with him, and put on a more cheerful countenance withal.

Yet, the next day, when he came near Lough Foyle, his passage that way was not so secret but the governor there had notice thereof, and invited him and his son to dinner; but their haste was such that they accepted not that courtesy, but they went on, and came that Thursday night to Rathmullan, a town

on the west side of Lough Swilly, where the Earl of Tyrconnel and his company met him. There they took some beeves from one Francis Whyte, an Englishman, and killed them for their provision. There the Earl of Tyrconnel sent for the foster-father of his brother Caffar O'Donnell's son, willing him to bring the child with him. He presently repaired with the child towards the place where the Earls lodged, but being met by the way by the Baron of Dungannon and Caffar O'Donnell himself, they took the infant violently from him, which terrified the foster-father, so that he escaped by the swiftness of his horse, their horses being tired with travelling. Of this child they have a blind and superstitious prophecy, because he was born with six toes upon one foot; for they affirm that one of their Saints of Tyrconnel hath prophesied that when such a one, being of the sept of O'Donnell, shall be born, he shall drive all the Englishmen out of Ireland.

But now the great question is, whither those travelers have directed their course. The common voice and opinion is that they are gone into Spain. The reasons and presumptions are these: - First, Sir Cormac M'Baron O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone's brother, brought the first news of their departure, and reported that the Earl his brother sent one O'Hagan unto him, who persuaded him to accompany his brother into Spain, but he would not be moved by his persuasion, but presently made his repair to the State, to acquaint the Lord Deputy with this accident. Howbeit, it was noted that Sir Cormac had his private end in this, for withal he was an earnest suitor to have the custodian of his brother's country, which, perhaps, might be to his brother's use by agreement between them; and, therefore, for this and other causes of suspicion, the constable of the Castle of Dublin has the custodian of him. Next it is said, that McGuire, who hath been lately in Spain, came in the ship wherein they are embarked, disguised like a mariner; and that Florence O'Mulconnor, the Pope's titular Bishop of Tuam, and a pensioner of Spain, came also in that ship from the coast of Flanders. If this be true, it is to be presumed that these men brought some message out of Spain, whereby the Earls are invited to come thither.

This is an extract from the first three pages of Sir John Davies letter some of the words have been changed to the modern spelling.

BYTHELORD DEPVTIE AND COVNCELL

HVRE CHICHESTER.



Deasmuch as it is knowne to the world how infinitly the fugitive Carles of Tyrone and Tirconnell, have been obliged buto the Kinges most excellent Paiestie for his fingular grace and mercy, not only in giving free pardon to them both for many hey= nous and execrable treasons, about all hope that they could in reason conceaue: but also in rectoring the one to his lands and honor, which he had most infily forfaited by his notozious Rebellion, and in rayling the other from a very meane estate, to the degree and title of an Earle, giving him withall, large pollellions for the support

of that Honour, before either of them had given any new proofe of loyaltic, or merited the least favour by performance of any good feruice. And whereas fince they were received to grace, neither of them can fulfly pretend any prou ocation or cause of greenance, no not in that poynt which serveth for a Cloake for al their Treasons, namely in point of Religion, touching which they have not been called in question, & have been also borne Withall in many other insolencies and outrages committed in their seuerall Countries.

And Whereas Tyrone hunfelfe being lately fent for into England, according to his owne defire (as hee pretended) to receive order in a controverlie betweene him and appincipall Reighbour of his, did binder colour of that Journey prepare himselfe for that contravie course which now he hath taken, and most bugrate= fully and contemptuonily fledde from his Paiesties most gracious presence, and together with Tirconnell, Cowconaght oge mac Guyre, & the rest of the fugitives in their company and retinue, withdrew himselfe out of this Realme into forcaine parts, where they doe now lurke and wander, thereby bewraying a guiltie conscience of some traiterous conspiracie and practise amongst themselius, against his Maiestie and the State of this Kingdome, which enery day doth discouer it felfe moze and moze, and thall hereafter be laide open and made manifelt to the World.

Anthe meanetime, according to his Maiesties royall pleasure signified buto bs, wee doe in his Maieties name declare and publish, that for the causes aforesaide, his Maiestic doth fully seize and take into his hands, all the Lands and Goods of the faid Augitines, wherein not with standing his Paicitie will extend fuch grace and favour towards the dutifull and loyall Inhabitants of the feverall Countries which were possessed by the said fugitives, as none of them that be impeached, troubled, or molested in their own Lands, Goods, or Bodies, they continuing in their loyaltie, and yeelding but his Paicific fuch Rents and duties as thall be agreeable to inflice and equitie. And to that end his most excellent Daichie doeth take all the good and loyall Inhabitantes of the faide Countries, together with their wines and Chil-Den, Lands and Goods, into his owne infiniediate protection, to defend them in generall against all Rebellions and Junalions, and to right them in all their wrongs and oppressions offered or to bee offered buto them by any person whatsoever, and to yeeld grace and favour buto every of them according to his Princely pleasure, and their demerits.

And to that end, we doe in his Maichties name fraightly charge and commaund all Magistrates, Officers, and Ministers, and all other his Paicities loyall Subjects in this Kingdome, that they and encry of them in their leuerall charge, doe ble their best undenours to see his Paiches gracious pleasure expected in this Proclamation ducly performed and executed, as they will auniwere the contraric at their perills.

Smen at his Paielties Caffle of Dublin, the 9. of Pouember, in the fift yeere of his Paielties raigne of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, and of Scotland the one and fortieth.

God faue the King.

Thomas Dublin. Canc.

D. Thomond.

Thomas Ridgeway.

Rich. Wingfield.

Iames Ley.

Nich. Walch.

Hum. Wynch.

Anthony Sentleger.

Oliver St. John.

Henry Harrington.

Geff, Fenton.

Henry Powie.

Garret Moore.

Rich. Cooke.

Iames Fullerton.

Adam Loftus.

Printed at Dublin by Iohn Franckton, Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie sor Ireland. 1607.

BY THE LORD DEPUTIE AND COUNCELL ARTHURE CHICHESTER

'For as much as it is knowne to the world how infinitly the fugitive Earles of Tyrone and Tirconnell, have been obliged unto the Kinges most excellent Majestie for his singular grace and mercy, not only in giving free pardon to them both for many heynous and erecrable treasons, above all hope that they could in reason conceave:but also in restoring the one to his lands and honor, which he had most justly forfeited by his notorious Rebellion, and in raysing the other from a very meane estate, to the degree and title of an Earle, giving him withal, large possessions for the support of that honour, before either of them had given any new proofe of loyaltie, or merited the least favour by performance of any good service, And whereas since they were received to grace, neither of them can justly pretend any provocation or cause of greevance, no not in that poynt which serveth for a Cloake for al their Treasons, namely in point of Religion, touching which they have not been called in question, I have been also borne withal in many other insolencies and outrages committees in their severall Countries.

And whereas Tyrone himselfe being lately sent for into England, according to his own desire (as hee pretended) to receive order in a controversie betweene him and a principall Neighbour of his, did under colour of that Journey prepare himselfe for that contracie course which now he hath taken, and most ungratefully and contemptuonsly fledde from his majesties most gracious presence, and together with Tirconnell, Cowconaght oeg mac Guyre (Cú Connacht Maguire), & the rest of the fugitives in their company and retinue, withdrew himselfe out of this Realme into forraine parts, where they doe now lurke and wander, thereby bewraying a guiltie conscience of some traitorous conspiracie and practise amongst themselves, against his Majestie and the State of this Kingdom, which every day doth discover it selfe more and more, and shall hereafter be laide open and made manifest to the world.

In the meanetime, according to his Majesties royall pleasure signified unto us, wee doe in his majesties name declare and publish, that for the causes aforesaide, his Majestie doth justly seize and take into his hands, all the Lands and Goods of the said fugitives, Wherein notwithstanding his majestie will extend such grace and favour towards the dutifull and loyall Inhabitants of the severall Countries which were possessed by the said fugitives, as none of them shall be impeached, troubled, or molested in their own Lands, Goods or Bodies, they continuing in their loyaltie, and yielding unto his Majestie such Rents and duties as shall be agreeable to justice and equitie. And to that end his most excellent Majestie doeth take all the good and loyall Inhabitantes of the saide Countries, together with their Wives and Children, Lands and Goods, into his owne immiediate protection, to defend them in generall against all Rebellions and Invasions, and to right them in all their wrongs and oppressions offered or to bee offered unto them by any person whatsoever, and to yeeld grace and favour unto every of them according to his princely pleasure, and their demerits.

And to that end, we doe in his Majesties name straightly charge and commaund all Magistrates, Officers and Ministers, and all other his Majesties loyall subjects in this Kingdome, that they and every of them in their severall charge, doe use their best indevours to see his Majesties gracious pleasure expressed in this Proclamation duely performed and executed, as they will aunswere the contrarie at their perils. Given at his Majesties Castle of Dublin, the 9th of November, in the fift yeere of his Majesties raigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland that one and fortieth. 1607

God save the King.

The humbe peticon of Bridgett Countesse of Jercortess.

Most worthie, and dread Soueraigne, The great mercifull favor that your excellent Mai hath shewed to mame of your poore distressed subjects, hath imbouldened me to be an humble suitor for grace att your hander: And with your koyall and worthie Indocment to acquitt me of ame unworthie --- defant, or ingratitude, comitted by my unfortunate husband, whose courses I take god to my -- kecorde I was never acquainted withall more then by my owner miserable fortunes I fynd my -- lesse to be the most unfortunate Creature livinge.

Except I may be relieved by your Mai goodmen and the charitable acts of your owner my not and favor which I will not in ame perticular desire: But leave it to the great goodnes of your owne harte with I hope wilbe mercifull to my source afflicted soule: with Shall contynuallie gray for your most excellent Mai and your Royall Issue.





THE HUMBLE PETICON OF BRIDGETT COUNTESSE OF TERCONELL

Most worthie and dread soveraigne. The great mercifull favour that your excellent Ma(jes)tie hath showed to manie of your poor distressed subjects, hath imbouldened me to be an humble suitor, for grace att your handes: And with your Royal and worthie Judgement to acquitt me of anie unworthy desart, or ungratitude, comitted by my unfortunate husband, whose courses I take god to my Recorde, I was never acquainted withall, more then by my owne miserable fortunes, I fynd myselfe to be the most unfortunate creature livinge.

Except I may be relieved by your Ma(jes)te goodness and the charitable acts of your owne mynde and favour, which I will not in anie perticuler desire: But leave it to the great goodness of your owne harte, w(hi)ch I hope wilbe mercifull to my poore afflicted soule: w(hich) shall contynullie pray for your most excellent Ma(jes)tie and your Royall Issue.

Contynullie – Continually Imbouldened – Emboldened Anie- Any Manie – Many Mynde – Mind 38

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THE JOURNEY OVER THE ALPS TADHG Ó CIANAIN'S ACCOUNT

There are three bridges over the river. From there they and their horses went in boats across a great lake called Alphacher-See, which is nine leagues in length and one in breadth. The Alps are all around it. They rowed through the lake till they reached a small town, Flüelen Pourlacu at midnight. They remained there that night.

The next day, Saint Patrick's day precisely, the seventeenth of March, they went to another small town named Silenen. From that they advanced through the Alps. Now the mountains were laden and filled with snow and ice, and the roads and paths were narrow and rugged. They reached a high bridge in a very deep glen called the Devil's bridge. One of O'Neill's horses, which was carrying some of his money, about one hundred and twenty pounds, fell down the face of the high, frozen, snowy cliff which was in front of the bridge. Great labour was experienced in bringing up the horse alone, but the money decided to remain blocking the violent, deep, destructive torrent which flows under the bridge, through the middle of the glen. They stayed that night in a little town named Piedimonte. Their journey that day was six leagues.

The next day the Earl proceeded over the Alps. O'Neill remained in the town we have mentioned. He sent some of his people to search again for his money. Though they endured much labour, their efforts were in vain. Because of the snow and ruggedness and ice of the mountain in front of them, they were scarcely able to ride the next day except in way that is usual when crossing the Alps.

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THE DEATH OF HUGH O'NEILL ANNALS OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND

Aois Criost 1616/ The Age of Christ 1616

The Age of Christ, one thousand six hundred sixteen

O'Neill (Hugh, son of Ferdorcha, son of Con Bacagh, son of Con, son of Henry, son of Owen), who had been Baron from the death of his father to the year when the celebrated Parliament was held in Dublin, 1584, and who was styled Earl of Tyrone at that Parliament, and who was afterwards styled O'Neill, died at an advanced age, after having passed his life in prosperity and happiness, in valiant and illustrious achievement, in honour and nobleness. The place at which he died was Rome (and his death occurred), on the 20th of July, after exemplary penance for his sins, and gaining the victory over the world and the Devil. Although he died far from Armagh, the burial place of his ancestors, it was a token that God was pleased with his life that the Lord permitted him a no worse burial-place, namely Rome, the head (city) of the Christians. The person who here died was a powerful, mighty lord, (endowed) with wisdom, subtlety, and profundity of mind and intellect; a warlike, valorous, predatory, enterprising lord, in defending his religion and his patrimony against his enemies, a pious and charitable lord, mild and gentle with his friends, fierce and stern towards his enemies, until he had brought them to submission and obedience to his authority; a lord who had not coveted to possess himself of the illegal or excessive property of any other, except such as had been hereditary in his ancestors from a remote period; a lord with the authority and praiseworthy characteristics of a prince, who had not suffered theft or robbery, abduction or rape, spite or animosity, to prevail during his reign; but had kept all under (the authority of) the law, as was meet for a prince.

I plantation A Project for the division of the eschented: granusage landes in six fewerall Counties of colster: Ramelie Firone: Colraine: Domnegall: 20 20 Formanagh: & Cauan: Concluded by his Mais Consissioners the 23: of January 1608 offernou in over, Suntio: six: The Bh: of berry St James Lev. St. Anthony St Leger Etenry boctora flift gat go proportions of Land to be destributed to sudor takers A. Oliver & John: maio 60 of groo sifferent quantities: Eso Airf and Loaft quantitie James Fuller ton; maio doulist of for manio grollo of Law ab will make 1000 ougetto or Gerabout. De Coaroul and mole proportion of for manio and groatest of many proces as will make 1500 oughts arros or Borrabout to girl or Geri about. The many proces as no ill marke 2000 duylifts arros John Dauyes. Soroudio gat all go Landor offeratore in ovorio domt io maio bo Jobidore in stone parle nogoroop too parte maio bo socialed into proportions of ruffling of our Gouland extos a pooro; a gird part into proportions of 1500 arros and go fort part into perportions of 2000 areos. Ororford Goriu, Sud gat go Aurombouf mano bo ondo nor of globos le saus 60 arrob and an Jurombout of a paristo of 1000 arros to saus 90 arrob and an Jurombout of a paristo of 1000 arrob for saud in arrob and an Jurombout of a paristo of 2000 arrob to paud ito arrob and gat go nogod Tibos and got Juliob of Oborio pariflo, boo allottore to ovorio furombout, bofulos go globos afforfair Gove pro portions mil oughfo and Soutiffe Council. fonerglie gat go sur orfabers A gois Lambes be offonorall Buf six orbito's in Arland noto maio take Emplifo of fristo Toward al Gove that 3 Tratuos of gold Compies noto are to boo made shoosputoors. Lafflio gis ana gabouij mado Ogoifo of furgo gorfons as Balbo plantore di ororio combio so aboido omulation amomy som. Ogo Sritos of garos of goir grosportons. Balbo soffributore by Lost: Zoib gouveall grounds bourg first Lawd go Landod in ovors-partirular Duntio, maio bo Vobilod in gib mamor.

REPORT OF THE PLANTATION COMMISSION

A project for the division and plantation of the escheated lands in six severall Counties of Ulster; Namelie Tirone, Colraine, Donnegall, Fermanagh, Ardmagh & Cavan: Concluded by his Ma(jes)ties Comissioners the 23rd of January 1608

In this Project wee have first conceaved five severall pointes to bee observed in every Countie viz;

First that the proportions of land to be destributed to undertakers maie be of three different quantities. The first and least quantitie maie consist of soe manie p(ar)cells of land as will make 1000 englishe acres or heraboutes. The second and midle proportion of soe manie p(ar)cells as will make 1500 englishe acres or heraboutes. The third and greatest of so many p(ar)cells as will make 2000 englishe acres or hereabouts.

- 2. Secondlie that all the landes escheated in everie countie maie be devided in four partes whereof two partes maie be devided into proportiones consisting of one thousand acres a peece a third part into proportions of 1500 acres and the fourth part into proportions of 2000 acres.
- 3. Thirdlie that everie proportion bee made a parishe and a parishe church erected therin And that the Incumbent maie be endowed w(i)th glebes of severall quantities viz. An Incumbent of a parishe of 1000 acres to have 60 acres and an Incumbent of a parishe of 1500 acres to have 90 acres and an Incumbent of a parishe of 2000 acres to have 120 acres and that the wholl tithes and the duties of everie parishe bee allotted to everie Incumbent besides the glebes afforsaid

- 4. Forthlie that the undertakers of theis landes be offaeratt soely viz:
- 1. Englishe and Scottish who are to plant their proportions with englishe and Scottish Tenantes
- 2. Servitores in Ireland who maie take English or Irish tenantes at their choice
- 3. Nativees of these Counties who are to bee made freehoulders.
- 5. Lastlie his Ma(jes)tie having made choise of suche persons as shalbe planted in everie' Countie to avoide emulation amioung them. The Scites or places of their proporcones shalbe destributed by lott.

This generall groundes being first laied by landes in every particular Countie maie be devided in this manner.

Names of commissioners in margin: The Bishop of Derry, Sir James Ley, Sir Anthony St. Ledger, Sir Henry Docrwa, Sir Oliver St. John, Sir James Fullerton, Sir John Davyes

Scites = Sites
Proporciones = Proportions
Maie = May
Fourthly = Forthly
Laied = Laid
Peece = Piece
Secondlie = Secondly

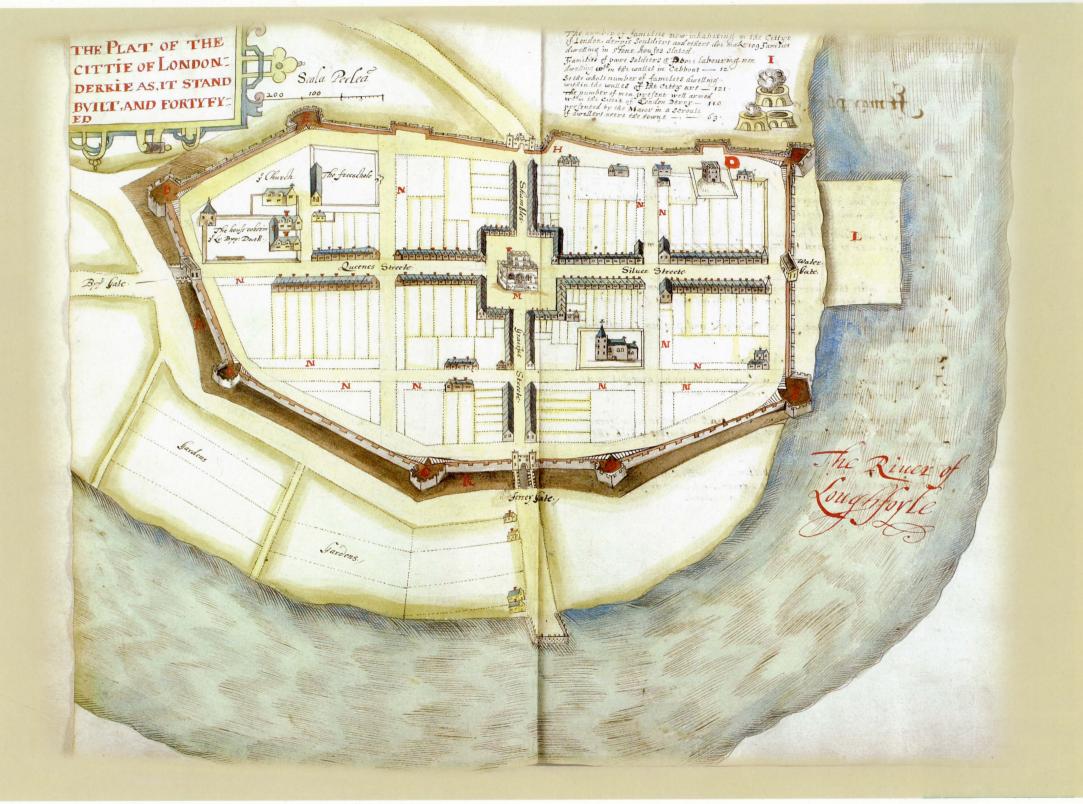
English.

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Counties	Procincts	Proportions	Acres	Undertakers.
	Oneylan.	preate.4.	16500.	Loi Say . So we was coe. John Billon gent we 1000
Eprone	Clouber		12500.	St Tho: Redgmare 2000. Tho: Loch esq 2000. Fran. Wellowish bic esq. + - 2000. St foan Ash borne bons 2000. Cap Edney & Tho. Edney + 1500. Goo: Lidgmaic gone 1000. We Tarrens gone 1000.
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Donega N.	(6	Small 1.	15000,	Le Chamberlame. 20. Wilson 2000 3 Morris Barkley 2000 5 Ach Lemmoton 2000 5 Tho: Cornwell 2000 5 W. Barnes 1500 Cost Coach 1500 Edw. Lussell 1500 Cap. Manufoild 1500
		Brento -2		Sol Shrewshare
nonego (France 1	5000.	The Bleverhafsett a 2000 The Bleverhafsett erg - 2000 Some Hugh Woorrall + + 1000
ormanarh	colm Fernan	Freate 1	9000.	Tho: Flowindero esq. 10. 10. 2000. Edw. Ward gent 4. 1000 Min. flunmates esq. 10. 1000 Tho: Barton esq. 10. 1000 John Sedborough esq. 10. 1000 Robert Caluert gent 10. 10. 1000 John Archdale gent 10. 1000

LIST OF UNDERTAKERS Lord of To

Counties	Precincts	Proportions	Acres	Undertakers			
Ardmagh	Oneylan	Great 4 Middle 3 Small 4	16500	Earl of Worcester Lo Say 3000 Powell 2000 Sachenecell 2000 John Heron gent. 2000 Stanhane 1500	acres John Dillion gent Browntone William Brenndan Machee gent Rolleston	1500 1500 1000 1000 1000 16500	
Tyrone	Clogher	Great 4 Middle 1 Small 3	12500	E. of Salisburie Sir Thomas Redgraie Thomas Roch esq. Fran. Willoughbie esq. John Ashbornehen Cap Edney &Tho. Edney George Ridgraie gent William Parsons William Thr[] gent	2000 2000 2000 2000 1500 1000 1000 1000		
Tyrone	Omey	Great 5 Middle 0 Small 1	11000	L. Audley Sir Mervin Audley Mr. Fermande Audley Sr. John Davis Mr. Blunt	3000 2000 2000 2000 2000 11000		
Donegall	Liffer	Great 4 Middle 4 Small 1	15000	L. Chamberlane William Wilson Sir. Morris Barkley Sir. Robert Remington Sir. Thomas Cornwall Sir William Barnes Sir Henry Clare Captain Coach Edward Russell Captain Mansfeild	2000 2000 2000 2000 1500 1500 1400 1500		
Fermanagh	Cloneally	Great 2 Middle 0 Small 1	5000	E. of Shrewsburie Sir Edmuns Bleuerhaseett Thomas Bleuerhaseett Sir Hugh Woorrall	2000 2000 1000 5000		
Fermanagh	Colmkernan	Great 1 Middle 0 Small 7	9000	E of Shrewsburie Thomas Flonerders Esq. Edward Ward gent Henry Hunnigers Thomas Barton John Sedborough Robere Calvert gent Robere Boggas gent John Archdale gent	2000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000 1000		

E= Earl Lo/L = Lord



THE PLAT OF THE CITTLE OF LONDON DERRY

A Plat of the Cittie of London Derry as it stands Built and Fortyfyed

An Alphabetical table for the lay out of the places marked in the plat of the Cyttie of Londonderry on the other side.

- A King James his Bulwarke
- B Prince Charles his Bulwarke
- C The Lord Deputies Bulwarke
- D London Bulwarke
- E The Lord Docwra his Bulwarke
- F The Lord Chichester his Bulwarke
- G The Governor of the Plantacions Bulwarke
- H The Mayor of London Derries Bulwarke
- I The Lyne Killes (Lime Kilns)
- K The Ditch without the wall
- L A place where a new key were fitt to be built
- M A forme of a Sittadell fitting to have beene built in the market place
- N Ranges left where houses may bee built in tyme to come
- O The ould castle wherein the Kings store is kept

The number of families now inhabiting in the Cittye of London derrie souldiers and others doe make 109 families dwelling in stone houses slated.

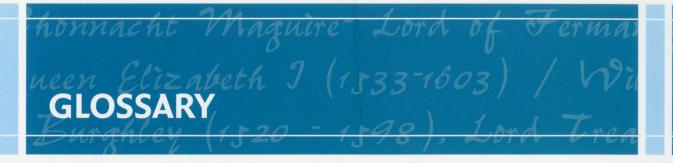
Families of poore soldiers & poore labouring men dwelling w(i)th in the walles in Cabbons – 12

So the whole number of families dwelling within the walles of the citty are – 121

The number of men present well armed w(i)thin the Cittie of London Derry –110

Presented by the Major in a scroule of dwellers neare the towne – 63

Cittye/Cittie/Cyttie = City
Fortyfyed = Fortified
Sitadell = Citadel
Souldiers = Soldiers
Cabbons = Cabins
Plantacions = Plantations



Annals A form of historical writing which records events year by year.

Beeves Plural for the word beef (old English).

Bonnaghts Irish cavalry or mercenaries.

Bulwarke Solid wall-like structure made of beams and soil, raised for defence.

Balliboe A measurement of land, about 80 acres.

Chieftain Family/Clan leader, chosen by members of the clan.

Citadell A citadel is a fortress for protecting a town, sometimes part of a castle.

Dissolution of A term referring to the closing of the monasteries during the **the Monasteries** Protestant Reformation.

Escheated Refers to property that reverts to the ownership of the state when there is

no clear legal owner.

Galloglass Mercenaries who came to Ireland from Scotland whose preferred weapon

was an axe.

Glebe Plot of land belonging to an English parish church.

Government of Ireland was partitioned under the 1920 Government of Ireland Act. The act separated six counties in Ulster from the remaining 26 counties, which would

separated six counties in Ulster from the remaining 26 counties, which would eventually become the Republic of Ireland. The six counties, Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Antrim, Armagh and Down were to have their own parliament under the act in an attempt to satisfy oposition to an all-Irish Parliament.

Heresy A belief that differs from the accepted or established belief or church. In the

16th century 'heretics' were those who deviated from the Catholic Church.

Incumbent A person who holds ecclesiastical office.

Kern Irish soldiers, armed with javelins, swords and bows.

Lord Deputy The Queen's/King's representative in Ireland, usually an English or British

nobleman.

Patron A person giving support, usually financial, to a person or organisation,

normally for artistic or cultural endeavours.

Penal Laws The Penal laws were a series of laws that discriminated against Catholics. They

were introduced into Ireland in 1695. Catholics were barred from holding public office or becoming members of parliament. They were restricted in the amount of land they could occupy and they could not purchase property.

amount of land they could occupy and they could not parenase property.

Rear guard Part of a medieval military formation- Vanguard at the front, followed by the

middle guard and the rear guard.

Sectarianism An adherence to a particular belief and an unwillingness to accept other

people's thinking or values (usually religious).

Succession Passing down of power from one monarch, politician or leader, usually

following his or her death, to another individual.

tenry Docura (1564-1631). British s I (James VI of Scotland) 1566-

Surrender and Regrant

A policy that was introduced by King Henry VIII. If a Gaelic Lord surrendered his lands to the King, he would be allowed to stay on his lands on the condition that he swore loyalty to the King. If he surrendered he was granted the title of Earl and was expected to speak English, wear English-style dress and to follow English custom.

Tánaiste

The heir to succeed as chieftain and second in command.

Usquebaugh

Whiskey -Anglicised term for uisce beatha meaning "water of life".

Victuals

A stock or supply of food.

<u>Primary Sources</u> The documents used in this pack come from a number of important collections relating to the history of Ireland. They are held in institutions in both Ireland and the UK, where they are made available to researchers. They include:

The Annals of the Four Masters –Royal Irish Academy, Dublin (Published translations are available in most good libraries)

The Franciscan 'A' Manuscripts - University College Dublin

Both manuscipt collections can be viewed on the Irish Script on Screen Website www.isos.dias.ie

State Papers Ireland 1558-1782 – National Archives, UK. This collection consists mostly of letters to and from the Secretaries of State, Lord Deputies and other government officials as well as a number of letters from the leading Irish families.

Carew Manuscripts 16th and early 17th century—Lambeth Palace Library, UK. This collection covers the administration of Ireland and the settlement of Ulster, including numerous manuscripts, charts and plans as well as Irish family histories assembled by Sir George Carew.

Bartlett Maps c.1602 – National Library of Ireland. Series of maps produced by English Cartographer Richard Bartlett, covering the province of Ulster.

Cotton Manuscipts – British Library. This manuscript collection was compiled by antiquarian, Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) and contains many maps, charts and plans of Ireland, England and Scotland.

Some Additional Reading

Why not do some additional reading on the period of the Flight of the Earls and the Plantation? There are lots of books available from your local library:

Kerney Walsh, Micheline, Hugh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, 1998, Four Courts Press.

McGettigan, Darren, Red Hugh O'Donnell and the Nine Years War, 2005, Four Courts Press

McGurk, John, The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland (Manchester 1997).

Morgan, Hiram (ed.), The Battle of Kinsale (Bray 2004).

Morgan, Hiram, Tyrone's Rebellion: the outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland (Woodbridge 1993).

O'Faolain, Sean, The Great O'Neill, 1970.

1 St. Anthony s College Louvain / Annals f the Four Masters / Gaelic Ireland in the 6th century / Conflict — The Nine Year Wa and the Battle of Kinsale / Flight, Exile and Death / Plantation of Ulster / Gaelic Irelan Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603) / William (5) bord Burghley (1520 - 1598), Lord Treasurer of





